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THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI

VOLUME LVIII

THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME LVIII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

J. R. REA

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PREFACE

The whole content of this volume is documentary. It falls into two parts. The first section, a miscellaneous group of documents of the Roman and Byzantine periods (**3915–3932**), is based on a nucleus of texts studied at a seminar held by Rea in the Ashmolean Library, Oxford, in Hilary and Trinity terms 1988. The members were graduate students in Ancient History at Oxford and visiting students from the universities of Bonn, Geneva, and Heidelberg. Each member took responsibility for one or more items, produced a preliminary transcript of each and gave a first account of it to the seminar. The editions printed here are by Rea; the work done by the members of the seminar is gratefully acknowledged by a note at the end of each introduction giving the name of the individual concerned. The opportunity has been taken to add some texts which seemed to be relevant to items of the original group, **3923**, **3927**, **3928**. The interest in this section is very varied: note the *libertus diui Augusti* in **3915**, the *stator* in **3917**, the *praefectus classis Augustae Alexandrinae* in **3920**.

The second section, documents of the late Byzantine period, is chiefly concerned with the formulas occurring at the heads of contracts, in normal times consisting of a religious invocation of Christ or of the Trinity, and a date clause by regnal year or consulship or both, with month, day and indiction. The formulas are interesting because their changes reflect moments of political change and difficulty, and because they show the variety of wording and even reckoning of the date allowed to the local officials, see **3933–3962** General Introduction. Some special points of interest occur incidentally: evidence for the monetary value of gold in AD 614 (**3958** 26 n.), a school in Oxyrhynchus in 610 (**3952** 11 n.), the survival of the household of Flavius Apion III as an economic unit under the Persians after his death, which **3959** and **3960** allow us to place in the period July 619 to January 620, just about the time of the Persian invasion.

Again we are much indebted to our printers, H. Charlesworth and Co., whose skill and helpfulness have given us a smooth and speedy passage from copy to finished book.

February 1991

P. J. PARSONS
J. R. REA
General Editors
Graeco-Roman Memoirs

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3938 Fragment of Loan	7 March 601	70
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3942 Potter's Work Contract	22 February 606	77
3943 Fragment of Contract	15 November 606	80

* All dates are AD

3944 Fragment of Contract	16 November 606	81
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3946 Fragment of Contract	18 November 606	83
3947 Fragment of Contract	28 October— 26 November 606	84
3948 Fragment of Contract	9 June 609	85
3949 Fragment of Contract	4 June 610	86
3950 Fragment of Contract	25 June 610	88
3951 Fragment of Contract	21 August 610	89
3952 Steward's Work Contract	Before 29 August 610	90
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3956 Fragment of Contract	1 October 611	106
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NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation, see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

$\alpha\beta\gamma$	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
$\dots$	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
$[\alpha\beta\gamma]$	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
$[\dots]$	Approximately three letters are lost
$(\)$	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. $(\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta)$ represents the symbol — , $\epsilon\tau\rho(\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\acute{o}\varsigma)$ represents the abbreviation $\epsilon\tau\rho\varsigma$
$\llbracket \alpha\beta\gamma \rrbracket$	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
$\overset{\cdot}{\alpha}\beta\gamma$	The letters are added above the line
$\langle \alpha\beta\gamma \rangle$	The letters are added by the editor
$\{ \alpha\beta\gamma \}$	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Heavy arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*, 3rd edition (*BASP* Suppl. No. 4, 1985). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PAPYRI PUBLISHED BY THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

I

1

9 + XXXIV 2687

F. T. Fallon, R. Cameron, *ANRW* II 25.6 pp. 4201-4.
L. E. Rossi, in A. Brancacci etc., *Aristoxenica, Menandrea: Fragmenta Philosophica* (Accademia Toscana ... 'La Colombaria', Studi XCI, 1988) 11-30.
F. Adorno etc., *Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini* i 399.

10

M. Gronewald, *ZPE* 84 (1990) 1-3.

41

R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 72 (1988) 65-6.

M. Blume, in L. Criscuolo, G. Geraci (edd.), *Egitto e storia antica*. Atti del colloquio internazionale Bologna, 31.8-2.9.1987 (Bologna, 1989) 271-90.

44

D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 75 (1988) 153-4 & Taf. IV.

60 14

J. E. G. Whitehorne, *ZPE* 47 (1982) 264.

74

P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 70 (1987) 133-8.

102 26

J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* 78.

126 31

ibid. 84, Taf. 46.

133 28

ibid. 87.

134 32

ibid. 81.

135 31

ibid. 78.

136 46

LVIII **3952** 55 n.

49

J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, op. cit. 84, Taf. 45.

137 2

LVIII **3933-62** introd. p. 56.

5

For *εὐκλείας* read *εὐκλεοῦς*. LVIII **3960** 1 n.

27

J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, op. cit. 84, Taf. 45.

138 48

ibid. 84.

139 33

ibid. 82, Taf. 44.

140 32

ibid. 87

173 (description)

= SB XVI 13083.

185 (description)

Edited by A. Martin, J. A. Straus, *CE* 64 (1989) 250-9, with plate.

188 (description)

= SB XVI 13058.

II

217

F. Adorno etc., *Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini* i 393.

221

ibid. i 287-9.

- 237** viii 7-18 A. Torrent, *Symposion* 1982 (Santander, 1-4 September 1982) = *Akten d. Gesellschaft f. gr. u. hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte*, Band 5 (1989) 291-300.
- 352** (description) C. Balconi, *Aegyptus* 65 (1985) 39.
- 357** (description) Edited by A. E. Hanson, *Aegyptus* 69 (1989) 61-9, with plate.
- 362-3** (descriptions) Edited by S. Daris, *Aegyptus* 69 (1989) 72-7, with plates.
- 364-5** (descriptions) Edited by S. Daris, *ZPE* 79 (1989) 197-9, with plate of **365**.
- 376** (description) Edited by S. Daris, *Aegyptus* 68 (1988) 27-31, with plate.
- 377** (description) = SB XVI 12952.
- 378** (description) = SB XVI 13048.

III

- 414** F. Adorno etc., *Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini* i 236.
- 470** 1-31 S. West, *ZPE* 77 (1989) 30-32.
- 31-87 S. Couchoud, *Bulletin de la société d'égyptologie*, Genève, 12 (1988) 25-34.
- 489** 7 G. Husson, *OIKIA* 72 n. 1, rejects the restoration [cὺν ἐξόδῳ καὶ] ἐ[λ]κόδῳ, because it is contrary to the invariable order. Then perhaps restore [cὺν ἐλκόδῳ καὶ] ἐ[ξ]κόδῳ, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 141. J. R. Rea.

IV

- 654, 655** F. T. Fallon, R. Cameron, *ANRW* II 25.6 pp. 4201-4.
- 658** 6-8, 16 LVIII **3929** 6-7 n.
- 666** F. Adorno etc., *Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini* i 269-79.
- F. Vendruscolo, in F. Adorno etc., *Protagora, Antifonte, Posidonio, Aristotele. Saggi su frammenti inediti e nuove testimonianze da papiri* 129-52.
- 667** A. Meriani, in A. Brancacci etc., *Aristoxenica, Menandrea, Fragmenta Philosophica* (Accademia Toscana ... 'La Colombaria', Studi XCI, 1988) 31-45.
- F. Adorno etc., *Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini* i 399.

V

- 841** xxxiv G. B. D'Alessio, F. Ferrari, *Studi classici ed orientali* 38 (1988) 159-80.
- 842** P. R. McKechnie, S. J. Kern, *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*.

- xii 6–20 C. J. Dull, in J. M. Fossey, H. Giroux, *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Boiotian Antiquities* = McGill University Monographs in Classical Archaeology and History 2 (1985) 33–9.
- xiv 1–10; ii 7–10 J. E. Lendon, *Historia* 38 (1989) 300–313.
- VI**
- 852** W. E. H. Cockle, *Euripides. Hypsipyle*.
- 913** 26 J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* 88.
- 972** LVIII **3924** introd.
- 985** W. E. H. Cockle, op. cit. 183–218.
- VII**
- 1012** F. Adorno etc., *Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini* i 152–7.
- 1038** 37 J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* 82, Taf. 43.
- VIII**
- 1129** 20 ibid. 88, Taf. 50.
- 1130** 31 ibid. 85
- 1133** 18 ibid. 77, Taf. 40.
- IX**
- 1176**³⁷ i 16–30, iii 5–29 F. Adorno etc., op. cit. i 157–68.
- ³⁹ ii 8–14 H. Yunis, *ΣPE* 75 (1988) 39–46.
- ³⁹ xii 24–34, xiii 1–17 D. Kovacs, *ΣPE* 84 (1990) 15–18.
- X**
- 1231** V. di Benedetto, *QUCC* N.S., N.24 = 53 (1986) 19–25.
- 1233**² ii 1–16 M. Davies, *Hermes* 114 (1986) 257–62.
- 1241** iii 2–4 F. Adorno etc., *Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini* i 388.
- 1280** 20 J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, op. cit. 85, Taf. 46.
- XI**
- 1359**¹ W. Beck, *ΣPE* 73 (1988) 4–5.
- 1364** + LII **3647** and F. Adorno etc., op. cit. i 176–222.
- XV 1797**
- 1365** ibid. i 394.

XII

1430R. S. Bagnall, *CE* 63 (1988) 161 n. 4.**1484**For *μελλοκουρίων* read probably *μαλλοκουρίων*. XLIX **3463** 6 n. Cf. D. Montserrat, *JEA* 76 (1990) 206–7.**1513** 7–12

For *ζυτοῦ* read *ζυγοῦ* throughout. This resolves the anomaly of beer measured in pounds. The entries follow the pattern α' *ζυγοῦ λί(τραι) νε* |² β' *ζυγοῦ λί(τραι) νε* etc. The commodity is probably meat, since line 13 has *ποδοκεφάλων*, see *LSJ*, E. A. Sophocles, *Lexicon*, G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.v. *ποδοκέφαλα* for various guesses about its nature. They agree that it refers to edible meat.

In G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* II 553.32 we find 'haec libra ο *ζυγος κρεοπωλου και μτρω* (i.e. *ό ζυγός κρεοπώλου καὶ μέτρον?*), which may be relevant. It is not clear whether the numbers α', β', etc. stand on their own as 1, 2 etc., or are days, for instance, or are ordinals agreeing with *ζυγοῦ*, 'first weighing(?)', second weighing(?)', etc. Or it may be that *ζυγοῦ λι(τρ-)* is a calque of Latin *pondo libr-*, although the usual Greek for that is *όλκῆς λι(τρ-)*.

The document is assigned to the fourth century; it is not later, and may be earlier. The Dalmatian troops remain somewhat mysterious, but Dalmatian and Moorish cavalry appear to have been part of Aurelian's *comitatus*, cf. Zos. I 52, A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 55 (cf. 57), ii 1077 (n. 36). These may be connected with his expulsion of the Palmyrenes from Egypt in AD 272. J. R. Rea.

1558 8

Restore *Ῥωμ]αῖκά* not *τὰ Ῥωμ]αῖκά*. H. Harrauer, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Tyche* 3 (1988) 117.

XIII

1604 3–6B. Zimmermann, *ZPE* 72 (1988) 22.**1608**

F. Adorno etc., *Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini* i 120–34.

1611

ibid. i 414–18.

XIV

1627 29

J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* 80.

1637 4LVIII **3923** 1–2 n.**1699**G. Husson, *OIKIA* 97–8.**1716** 30

J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, op. cit. 86, Taf. 47.

1718R. S. Bagnall, *CE* 63 (1988) 157–64.

XV

- 1788**¹⁵ ii 9-28 M. Vetta, *QUCC* N.S. 22 = 51 (1986) 39-52.
1790 + 2081 f E. Cingano, *ZPE* 79 (1989) 27-38.
1797 See above under **1364**.
1800¹ 28-32 F. Adorno etc., op. cit. i 406-9.
1802³ ii 49-50, iii 57 * *ibid.* i 335-6.
1823 G. Xanthakis-Karamanos, *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology* i 414-15.

XVI

- 1881** 24 J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* 88, Taf. 49.
1890 23 *ibid.* 89, Taf. 52.
1891 26 *ibid.* 89, Taf. 51.
1892 42 LVIII **3955** 26 n.
 45 J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, op. cit., 80, Taf. 41.
1898 37 *ibid.* 84
1899 27 *ibid.* 89, Taf. 51.
1900 34 *ibid.* 86, Taf. 47.
1942 7 P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 68 (1988) 76.
1957 23 J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, op. cit., 88, Taf. 50.
1959 23 *ibid.* 89, Taf. 51.
1961 29 *ibid.* 85, Taf. 47.
1962 30 *ibid.* 85.
1968 5-6 LVIII **3955** 14-15 n.
 14 J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, op. cit. 78.
1970 33 *ibid.* 83, Taf. 45.
1973 23 *ibid.* 88, Taf. 49.
1976 25 *ibid.* 83.
1979 5 LVIII **3939** 4-5 n.
 26 J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, op. cit. 83, Taf. 44.
1981 5 The regnal year was given in ed. pr. as $\beta = 2$, but the papyrus has $\gamma = 3$ correctly, and so corresponds with the indiction. Phaophi 28 of indiction 1 and regnal year 3 Heraclius is 25 October 612, cf. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 68. The original has been checked in Cairo by Dr R. A. Coles.
 32 J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, op. cit., 82, Taf. 44.
1982 27 *ibid.* 85, Taf. 46.
1983 28 *ibid.* 81, Taf. 42.
1986 23 *ibid.* 87.

- 1987** 31 *ibid.* 85.
1988 35 *ibid.* 84.
1989 28 *ibid.* 78.
1990 38 *ibid.* 78.
1991 4
 40 LVIII **3933** 2–3 n., item 9.
 J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im*
 byzantinischen Ägypten 85 (Anm. 18.3.1), 86, Taf. 47.
1993 41 *ibid.* 84.
2004 H. Harrauer, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Tyche* 3 (1988) 116.
2055 36 LVIII **3960** 13 n.
2064 (= A. S. Hunt, J. de M. Johnson, *Two Theocritus Papyri*)
 + L **3548** A. W. Bulloch, *CQ NS* 37 (1987) 505–12.
- XVII
- 2078** + LII **3531** F. Adorno etc., *op. cit.* i 442–65.
2080 G. Massimilla, *ŽPE* 81 (1990) 17–21.
2081 f See above under **1790**.
2087 ii 6–10 F. Adorno etc., *op. cit.* i 365–6.
 ii 29–30 *ibid.* i 146–7.
 ii 42–44 *ibid.* i 337–8.
2110 T. F. Brunner, *ŽPE* 75 (1988) 295–6 (on ἀμβιτεύειν).
2136 K. A. Worp, *Tyche* 4 (1989) 232.
- XVIII
- 2161** ii 23–34 M. K. Halleran, *ŽPE* 79 (1989) 267–9.
2176 W. Luppe, *Philologus* 134 (1990) 155–8.
2181 S. Fortuna, *Studi Classici ed Orientali* 37 (1987) 191–8.
2185 26–7 Read ἡ εἰς ἔτερο(ν) – ετερο pap. – ἀπλωc. J. R. Rea.
 31 For τ]ελ[έcμαci read perhaps δ]η[μοcίoiς. LVII p. 120.
2187 H. Harrauer, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Tyche* 3 (1988) 117.
2197 191, 192 LVIII **3960** 13 n.
- XIX
- 2225** P. Bing, *Hermes* 114 (1986) 121–4.
2237 24 J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *op. cit.* 85.
2238 29 *ibid.* 83, Taf. 45.
- XX
- 2262**¹ ii 8–12 P. Bing, *ŽPE* 74 (1988) 273–5.
2270 21 J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *op. cit.* 87, Taf. 48.
2283 34 J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *op. cit.* 89.

XXI

2288 19

S. R. Slings, *ZPE* 72 (1988) 19–20.

2303^{1a+b} 10–14

G. Liberman, *ZPE* 77 (1989) 27–9.

XXII

2310 1–21

J. S. Clay, *QUCC*, N.S. 24 = 53 (1986) 7–17.

2321 1–6

E. Cavallini, *GIF* 40 (1988) 213–15.

2322

R. G. Arthur, *AJP* 108 (1987) 404.

2329

M. Gronewald, *ZPE* 84 (1990) 3–7.

2330

J. M. Bigwood, *Phoenix* 40 (Toronto 1986) 393–406.

2347 17

J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, op. cit. 79.

XXIII

2354 16

R. Renehan, *CP* 81 (1986) 221–2.

2368

L. Käppel, R. Kannicht, *ZPE* 73 (1988) 19–24.

XXIV

2389⁹ i 11–14

F. Adorno etc., *Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini* i 368–9.

2390

G. W. Most, *CQ* N.S. 37 (1987) 1–19.

2402

F. Adorno etc., op. cit. i 261–3.

2403

ibid. i 256–61.

2407 38

On *μαλλοκυρη[τας* (or *-ήτους?*) see XLIX **3463** 6 n. Cf.

D. Montserrat, *JEA* 76 (1990) 206–7.

2419 2

For *ιοψου* read *ιου*.

3

For *μετὰ* read *ἄπα* (*Ἰερακίωνος*), cf. P. Mert. III 124.4, VII **1053** 23; XVIII **2206** 4.

For *ἀκολουθο<υ>ντος* read *ἀκολουθοῦντος*.

4

For *ἐκδικίας* read *ἐκδικείας* (= *ἐκδικίας*).

5

For *οἶδες εἶπε μετὰ ἀληθείας* read *ὅ] τι οἶδες εἰπέ μ. ἀ.*

For *ἀγίου τούτου* read *ἀ. τόπου*.

8

For *ἀπεχώρουν* read *ἀνεχώρουν*: NB the papyrus has the colon. J. R. Rea.

2420 3

LVIII **3954** 3–7 n.

19

καὶ . . . ν . . . [. . .] στασεως: this passage must have had something like *κινδύνῳ ἐμῷ καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑποστάσεως*, cf. I **138** 25–6, 30–31, **139** 27–8, XVI **1981** 26–7, XXVI **2478** 27–8 (*τῆς πάσης μου ὑ.*). The damage is so severe that it is difficult to attribute the traces accurately to individual letters. J. R. Rea.

21

LVIII **3955** 26 n.

22

J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, op. cit. 82, Taf. 44.

XXVI

2438**2447**^{4(b)} 8-12**2451** B¹ 1-4² 7
17W. H. Race, *Rhein. Mus.* N.F. 130 (1987) 407-10.M. Cannatà Fera, *Riv. Fil.* 115 (1987) 12-23.F. Adorno etc., *Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini*
i 404-6.

ibid. i 398.

I. C. Rutherford, J. A. D. Irvine, *ΣPE* 72 (1988) 43-51, esp.
48-50.

XXVII

2455²⁴ iv 32-9 + ¹⁴¹⁶⁷^{9, 10}

107

2459**2466****2477****2479** 6

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2480 293W. Luppe, *ΣPE* 72 (1988) 27-33.id., *ΣPE* 73 (1988) 30.J. Diggle, *ΣPE* 77 (1989) 1-11.W. Luppe, *ΣPE* 75 (1988) 49-50.id., *APF* 34 (1988) 15-25.id., *Prometheus* 13 (1987) 193-203.id., *Eos* 75 (1987) 251-6.M. Hose, *ΣPE* 81 (1990) 9-15.C. Ruiz-Montero, *ΣPE* 79 (1989) 51-7.K. A. Worp, *Tyche* 4 (1989) 232.Read probably ὁ]θην καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἐλεειν[ός] προσέρχομαι κτλ.
ὁ]θεν, cf. I 130 7, J. R. Rea from a photo, based on οὔ[τω]
κτλ., as suggested by J. G. Keenan, *ΣPE* 38 (1980) 246-8.

For ἀνέστην read ἀπέστην. J.G.K.

For ἀνα[τ]ροφάς read probably ἀπο[τ]ροφάς, cf. P. Cair.

Masp. I 67002 ii 3-4 εἰς ἀποτροφὴν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν τέκ[ν]ων.

J.R.R. For ἀναγραφῆναι (ἀπογραφῆναι J.G.K.) read
ἀποτραφῆναι, cf. 17, where J.G.K. has corrected ἀναθρέψαι to
ἀποθρέψαι. J.R.R.For προστάξαι read προστάξῃ (jussive subjunctive after
παρακα]λῶ καὶ ἵκετεύω (14), instead of infinitive). J.R.R.

Read and restore ὑπὲρ ο]ὔ οὐκ ἔσπειρα. J.R.R.

For ἀναθρέψαι read ἀποθρέψαι. J.G.K.

J.G.K. suggested ἄν in place of οὔ, which J.R.R. would
retain. For σπείραντες read σπείροντες. J.R.R.

LVIII 3960 28 n.

XXVIII

2489W. Beck, *ΣPE* 73 (1988) 1-7.

XXIX

2506^{6a}

²⁶ i 1-14

F. Adorno etc., *Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini*
i 389-90.
ibid. i 409-13.

XXX

2509

2510

2511

2516⁴

2527 3-5

R. Führer, *Mus. Helv.* 46 (1989) 237-8.
J. T. Kakridis, *WS* 99 (N.F. 20; 1986) 63-7.
J. March, *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology* i 345-52, esp. 348-50, with plate.
P. Carrara, *Prometheus* 12 (1986) 213-16.
F. Adorno etc., op. cit. i 359-60.

XXXI

2537 verso 24-7

J. C. Trevett, *ZPE* 81 (1990) 22-6.

XXXI

2565

2582

R. L. Cleve, *The Ancient History Bulletin* 2.5 (1988) 118-24.
Correct date to 31 January, AD 51 (instead of 49).
J. A. Straus, *ZPE* 78 (1989) 148.

XXXII

2624²⁸⁻⁵²

2637^{1a} 1-31

J. Lenaerts, *CE* 62 (1987) 245.
E. A. B. Jenner, *BICS* 33 (1986) 59-66.

XXXIII

2673

W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* 320 and n. 169.

XXXIV

2687

2718 21

2724 25

2729 6-7

See above under 9.
J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* 88, Taf. 50.
ibid. 89, Taf. 51.
With δὸς δύο ἀργυρᾶ καὶ γράψον μοι compare [Pseudo-] Dem. LVI 1 ἐν γραμματείδι δυοῖν χαλκοῖν ἐωνημένῳ καὶ βυβλιδίῳ μικρῷ πάνυ τὴν ὁμολογίαν καταλέλοιπε τοῦ ποιήσκειν τὰ δίκαια. Cf. W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* 95, n. 138. Both writers are plainly implying that enough papyrus to write a letter or a contract was cheap in their time and place, respectively Egypt in the fourth century AD, and, dramatically at least, Athens in the fourth century BC.
J. R. Rea.

XXXV

- 2734**⁴ F. Adorno etc., op. cit. i 385-6.
2735¹¹ E. A. B. Jenner, *BICS* 33 (1986) 59-66.
2737 44-51 R. M. Rosen, *ZPE* 76 (1989) 223-8.
 D. Gilula, *ZPE* 81 (1990) 101-2.
2744 i 37-ii 3, i 1-11 F. Adorno etc., op. cit. i 326-31.
 ii 20-36 ibid. i 356-9.

XXXVI

- 2779** 28 J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, op. cit. 86.
2780 P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Tyche* 2 (1987) 171-4.
 32 J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, op. cit. 81, Taf. 42.
2782 R. K. Raslan, *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology* ii 211-13.
 LVIII **3920** introd., 16-17 n.
2796 3 For γυμ(νασιαρχήσας) read γυμ(νασιαρχήσαντος).
 D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 80 (1990) 280.

XXXVIII

- 2850** C. Balconi, *Aegyptus* 65 (1985) 39.
2853 1 LVIII **3926** 1 n.
2870 N. Lewis, *CE* 62 (1987) 219-22.

XXXIX

- 2889** F. Adorno etc., *Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini*
 i 134-9.
2890 ibid. i 139-46.
2891 H. N. Parker, *ZPE* 79 (1989) 49-50.

XLI

- 2951** M. P. Speidel, *Tyche* 2 (1987) 195-8.

XLII

- 3010** R. Merkelbach, *Die Unschuldserklärungen und Beichten im ägyptischen Totenbuch, in der römischen Elegie und im antiken Roman* (Kurzberichte aus den Giessener Papyrussammlungen 43; 1987) 28-33.
3013 N. C. Hormouziades, in J. H. Betts, etc. (edd.), *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster* i 134-42.

XLIII

3118

3146 26

J. R. Rea, *ZPE* 38 (1980) 221-2.

J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* 80, Taf. 41.

XLIV

3158

P. Yale II 127 is part of the same manuscript.

XLV

3219¹ 5-10

3250 5

F. Adorno etc., op. cit. i 306-7.

On ναυτεία see D. Gofas, *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology* ii 255-60.

XLVI

3273

3274

3285

N. Lewis, *BASP* 23 (1986) 125-7.

id., *ibid.*, 23 (1986) 127-30.

J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, *ZRG Rom. Abt.* 105 (1988) 166, n. 3.

id., *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology* ii 383-99 = id., *Droit impérial et traditions locales dans l'Égypte romaine* Ch. IX.

3297 6

3314

LVIII **3930** introd.

G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* 3 (1983; items of 1978) No. 100, pp. 141-8.

XLVII

3317

G. Xanthakis-Karamanos, *BICS* 33 (1986) 107-11.

ead., *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology* i 403-6.

W. Luppe, *ZPE* 77 (1989) 13-17.

3331

R. Giannattasio, *ZPE* 76 (1989) 7-10.

See below under **3720**.

3355

G. Husson, *ZPE* 61 (1985) 69-70.

XLVIII

3368-71 A 28-56

A 31-6

A 31-7

M. Gronewald, *ZPE* 78 (1989) 35-9.

P. G. McC. Brown, *ZPE* 84 (1990) 8-10.

A. M. Belardinelli, *ZPE* 78 (1989) 31-4.

A. Borgogno, *QUCC* N.S. 30 = (1988) 87-97.

L

- 3531** See above under **2078**.
3548 See above under **2064**.
3555 25-8 LVIII **3926** 10 n.
3574 3-4 n. With XIV **1722** ἀπὸ Κυρίας Ἐλευθεραπόλεως compare XLII **3054** 6 ἀπὸ Βόστρας τῆς Κυρίας, PSI VII 771. 2 ἀπὸ Βόστρων Κυρίας, cf. G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* 116 and n. 28.
3576 18-19 n. Cf. *Historia Augusta, Alex. Sev.* 43. 6-7, cf. *Hadr.* 13. 6, *Hadrianus ... templa in omnibus ciuitatibus sine simulacris iusserat fieri, quae hodieque, idcirco quia non habent numina, dicuntur Hadriani ...*
3599 28 J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, op. cit. 89, Taf. 50.
3600 31 ibid. 89, Taf. 52.

LI

- 3612** 8 For τῆς read τὴν, see Pl. III. J. G. Keenan, *BASP* 20 (1983) 182.
3618 12 n. Add a reference to Pliny, *NH* XII 118, where it is explained that *xylobalsamum* is the prunings of balsam; so here ξυλοκάγαθον will have been trimmings from a live plant called κάγαθον. J. R. Rea.
3619 24 With *uexa*] *eum. quo uexato*, cf. Apuleius, *Metam.*, 7, 2 ... *in publicam custodiam receptum et ... tormentis uexatum ... nil ... esse confessum*; Amm. Marc. XIV 9.7 *denique etiam idem ad usque discrimen uitae uexatus, nihil fateri compulsus est*; XV 6.2 *usque ad confinia mortis uexatus*; XV 7.2 *uexatosque tormentis*; XVIII 3.5 *quaestiones longe serpebant, uexatique multi nocentes sunt et innocentissimi*. Misled by the printed punctuation I quoted the words 'ei pectus uexatur' from *JRS* 72 (1982) 105 as if they made a sentence. The passage should run, '*quaestionarius pulsat ei pectus, uexatur, suspenditur*', etc., 'the torturer keeps hitting him in the chest, he is tortured, hoisted up', etc. J. R. Rea.
3641 26 J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* 81.

LII

- 3647** See above under **1364**.
 F. Decleva Caizzi, in F. Adorno etc., *Protagora, Antifonte, Posidonio, Aristotele. Saggi su frammenti inediti e nuove testimonianze da papiri* 61-9.

- 3649** F. Adorno etc., *Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini* i 439.
3651 23-7 W. Luppe, *ZPE* 80 (1990) 13-15.
3652 id., *ZPE* 72 (1988) 31-3.
3653 D. F. Sutton, *ZPE* 61 (1985) 15-18.
3656 7-19 F. Adorno etc., op. cit. i 248-50.
3659 ii 25-8 ibid. i 240.
 ii 28-30 ibid. i 244.

LIII

- 3699** W. Luppe, *ZPE* 75 (1988) 47-8.
3705 A. Bélis, *ZPE* 72 (1988) 53-63.
 M. W. Haslam, *ZPE* 75 (1988) 139-40.
3706 F. Adorno etc., op. cit. i 399.
3708¹ 14-16r. ibid. i 382-3.
² 53 v. ibid. i 174.
3711 ii 31-6 G. L. Huxley, *JHS* 107 (1987) 187-8.
3720 R. Giannattasio, *ZPE* 76 (1989) 7-10.
 M. W. Haslam, *ZPE* 79 (1989) 48.

LIV

- 3722** M. L. West, *ZPE* 75 (1988) 1-2.
 M. A. Joyal, *ZPE* 81 (1990) 103-4.
3723 R. Führer, *ZPE* 74 (1988) 22.
 F. Williams, *ZPE* 75 (1988) 57-8.
 P. J. Parsons, *Mus. Helv.* 45 (1988) 65-74.
3724 D. Sider, *ZPE* 76 (1989) 229-36.
3758 20, 21 nn. H. W. Pleket, *Epigr. Anatol.* 12 (1988) 35-6 (on Tyre as a textile production centre).

LV

- 3780** 8 n. I missed the month name *Ἀκριπίνου* in SB VI 9017, No. 14. 4, cf. *ZPE* 82 (1990) 126. J. R. Rea.
3781 7-10 n. For a very similar version of Hadrian's titles see IGR III 934 (Lapethus, Cyprus). J. R. Rea.
3786 31-90 We know now that these men belonged to the *ἄμφοδον Δρόμου Θοήριδος*, see LVIII **3927** introd.
3789 introd. On the impositions and remissions of poll tax in the tetrarchic period see now S. Mitchell, *JRS* 78 (1988) 105-124, esp. 121-4.

- 3791** 2 & n. I missed the fact that this painter of AD 318 called Artemidorus is very likely to be the same as Aurelius A. son of Arsinous who in VI **896** of AD 316 submitted a report to the *curator ciuitatis* with an estimate of the cost of painting portions of the bath in one of the sets of Thermae at Oxyrhynchus. J. R. Rea.
- 3793** 4 For Οὐα]λακί read Οὐα]λακίου, as in the note.
- 3794** 2-3 n. For Flavius Eulogius read Flavius Eusebius; for Flavius Eusebius read Flavius Eulogius, see LIV p. 228. R. A. Coles.
- 3795** P. Pruneti, *Aegyptus* 69 (1989) 113-8. The document referred to in n. 23 (p. 117) for the location of Ματαεί in the 6th *pagus* has been republished as SB XVI 12755.
- 3798** See now W. Eck, H. Wolff, *Heer u. Integrationspolitik: die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle*, esp. 44-115 (H. Wolff, 'Die Entwicklung der Veteranenprivilegien').
- 3812** 5 n. Cf. LVI **3842**, **3843** for punctuation by oblique stroke.
- 3816**, **3817** introdd. Add now G. Casanova, *Aegyptus* 68 (1988) 93-7.
- 3820** W. H. C. Frend, *ZPE* 79 (1989) 248-50.
- 3852** 24 For εὐσεβεῖ read Εὐσεβεῖ. LVIII **3918** 1-2 n.
- P. Ant. I 22 T. Giménez-Candela, in *Estudios de derecho romano en honor de Alvaro d'Ors* i 557-77 with two plates.
- II 55 A. Borgogno, *Prometheus* 12 (1986) 33-8.
- 61 F. Adorno etc., *Corpus dei Papiri Filosofici Greci e Latini* i 426-30.
103. 1-3 LVIII **3933** 2-3 n., item 1.
104. 3 P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 68 (1988) 71.
- III 115 Alan Cameron, *CQ* N.S. 20 (1970) 119-129.
- 174 F. Montanari, L. M. Raffaelli, *Civiltà Classica e Cristiana* 9 (1988) 249-57.
- 206 P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 68 (1988) 71.
- P. Fay. 94. 10 For ἐν μηνιαίοις λ[όγο]ι[c read ἐξ[α]μηνιαίοις λ[όγο]ι[c.
- P. Diog. 19 introd. p. 141.
- 164 (description) P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Customs Duties* 161 No. 334, Plate VII.
- 165 (description) ibid., 161 No. 338.
- 166 (description) ibid., 172 No. 456, Plate XIII.
- 167 (description) ibid., 163 No. 356, Plate VIII.
- 168 (description) ibid., 167 No. 417, Plate XI.
- 169 (description) ibid., 175 No. 480, Plate XVI.
- 170 (description) ibid., 166 No. 398, Plate X.
- 171 (description) ibid., 166 No. 403, Plate X.

- 172 (description) *ibid.*, 176 No. 494, Plate XVI.
 173 (description) *ibid.*, 164 No. 373, Plate IX.
 174 (description) *ibid.*, 147 No. 132a.
 177 (description) *ibid.*, 161 No. 339, Plate VIII.
 178 (description) *ibid.*, 170 No. 443, Plate XII.
 179 (description) *ibid.*, 176 No. 495, Plate XVI.
 180 (description) *ibid.*, 175 No. 483.
 181 (description) *ibid.*, 177 No. 496, Plate XVI.
 182 (description) *ibid.*, 177 No. 497, Plate XVII.
 184 (description) *ibid.*, 167 No. 409.
 185 (description) *ibid.*, 156 No. 277, Plate V.
 186 (description) *ibid.*, 166 No. 393, Plate X.
 187 (description) *ibid.*, 163 No. 370, Plate VIII.
 188 (description) *ibid.*, 177 No. 498, Plate XVII.
 189 (description) *ibid.*, 164 No. 377, Plate IX.
 212 (description) S. Daris, *ZPE* 73 (1988) 43–5, Taf. 1 c.
 213 (description) *id. ibid.* 45–6, Taf. 1 d.
 223 (description) *id.*, *Aegyptus* 69 (1989) 85–7.
 243 (description) = SB XVI 13000 (recto), 13001 (verso).
 246 (description) P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 67 (1987) 74–6.
 247 (description) *id. ibid.* 76–8.
 295 (description) = SB XVI 13049.
 304 (description) P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 67 (1987) 73–4.
 P. Hib. I 4 G. Xanthakis-Karamanos, *Proceedings of the XVIII
 International Congress of Papyrology* i 406–412.
 A. Brancacci, in A. Brancacci etc., *Aristoxenica, Menandrea,
 Fragmenta Philosophica* (Accademia Toscana ... 'La
 Colombaria', Studi XCI, 1988) 61–84.
 S. R. Slings, *ZPE* 79 (1989) 1–8.
 D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 77 (1989) 201–2.
 P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Customs Duties* 164 No. 381, Plate IX.
 ibid., 165 No. 387, Plate X.
 ibid., 146 No. 20, Plate I, cf. *CE* 54 (1979) 141.
 O. Petrie 449 E. Spinelli, in A. Brancacci etc., *Aristoxenica, Menandrea,
 Fragmenta Philosophica* (Accademia Toscana ... 'La
 Colombaria', Studi XCI, 1988) 49–57 with plate.

I. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

3915. SALE OF A CAMEL

37 4B.111/O(2-4)

15 × 35 cm

7-8 September 30

The chief point of interest here is that the buyer is a man who was the freedman of a known freedman of the emperor Augustus, see 2-3 n., but we do not learn anything more about this intriguing link between Oxyrhynchus and Rome itself. None of the other persons mentioned can be identified from B. W. Jones, J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Register of Oxyrhynchites 30 BC-AD 96*. This is the earliest camel sale to survive and there are only two others from the first century, both fragmentary: P. Med. inv. 71.27a (*Aegyptus* 63 (1983) 140-143; AD 12-14), BGU XI 2112 (reign of Claudius or Nero; see the list in P. Vindob. Worp 9). However, this must be set against the fact that camels are well attested for the third century BC in the archive of Zeno. It has been suggested that they were introduced into Egypt in substantial numbers for the first time under Ptolemy Philadelphus from his possessions in Palestine, see R. S. Bagnall, *BASP* 22 (1985) 3; see *Orientalia* 46 (1977) 337-62 for the scant knowledge of the camel in Egypt before the Ptolemaic period. The author of the most recent study, A. Leone, *Gli Animali da Trasporto nell' Egitto Greco, Romano e Bizantino* (1988) 47-88, concludes that it was only in the Roman period that the use of the camel became general (47, n. 56). On its different importance for different villages of the Fayum see J. Schwartz, *CRIPEL* 10 (1988) 145-8. See also G. Nachtergaeel, 'Le chameau, l'âne et le mulet en Égypte gréco-romaine. Le témoignage des terres cuites', *CE* 64 (1989) 287-334.

A sheet-join running vertically c. 5 cm from the right hand edge shows that the contract is written along the fibres of the recto of the roll from which this piece was cut. The pattern of damage with five vertical folds dividing the papyrus into six panels indicates that the sheet was rolled up with the right edge inside in the usual fashion of rolls and squashed flat. A docket, now much damaged, was then written upwards along the fibres of the verso.

(Read with Ute Wartenberg.)

Ἀντείς] Τιτᾶνος τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως
 Ἰουλίῳ Φ]λώρῳ Βώλα θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
 ἀπελευθέ]ρου ἀπελευθέρῳ χαίρειν. ὁμολο-
 γῶ πεπρα]κέναι σοι τὸν ὑπάρχοντά μοι
 5 κάμηλον πυρρὸν πρωτοβόλον χαρα-

- κ]τῆρας δύο ἔχοντ[α], ἐπὶ τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ
 μηροῦ ἓνα καὶ ἐγ δεξιῶν τραχήλου τὸν ἄλλον,
 cυ]ν τῇ τούτου σαγῇ οἷα ποτ' ἐστίν, καὶ ἀπεςχη-
 κέ]ναι παρὰ σοῦ τὰς συνκεχωρημένας πρὸς
 10 ἀλλ]ήλ[ους] ὑπὲρ τῆς τούτου τειμῆς ἀργυρίου
 Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαϊκοῦ νομίσματος δραχμ(ὰς)
 τετρακοσί]ας τεσσαράκοντα κεφαλαίου
 ἐκ πλήρου]ς διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Ὁξυρύγχων
 πόλει Σαραπίου Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Ζωΐλου τραπέζ(ης)
 15 καὶ βεβαιώ]σω σοι τὴν πρᾶσιν πάσῃ βεβαιώσῃ
 ἢ ἐκτείς]ω ἢ ἐσχ[ο]ν παρὰ σοῦ τειμὴν
 σὺν ἡμιο]λίᾳ καὶ τὸ βλάβος καὶ ἐπ[ί]τειμον ἄλλας
 δραχμὰς . . .]κοσίας καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὰς ἴσας,
 κατὰ μηδὲ]ν ἀπλῶς ἐλαττουμένου σοῦ τοῦ Φλώρου
 20 ἐν τῇ πράξει] ὧν ὀφείλω σοι κατ' ἀσφαλείας. κυρία
 ἢ χεῖρ.] (ἔτους) ιζ [Τιβερίου]ν Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ μην(ὸς)
 (vac.) Σεβ[α]ς τοῦ ι̅. (vac.)
 (m. 2) Ἀντεῖς Τειτᾶνος πέπρα[κ]α τὸν κάμηλον καὶ τὴν
 σαγὴν καὶ ἀπέχω τὴν τιμὴν τὰς τοῦ ἀργυρί[ου] δρα[χμ]ὰς
 25 τετρακοσίας τε[ρ]σαράκοντα ἐκ πλήρ[ο]υς καὶ βεβαιώσω
 πάσῃ βεβαιώσῃ μὴ ἐλατ<τ>ουμένου τοῦ Φλώρου ἐν οἷς
 ὀφείλω αὐτῷ κατ' ἀσφαλείας καθότι πρόκειται. Φιλωνίδης
 Θέωνος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτὸν γράμ-
 ματα. (ἔτους) ιζ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ ι̅.
 30 (m. 3) ἔτους ιζ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ μην(ὸς) Σεβαστοῦ ι̅
 διὰ τῆς Σαραπίωνος τοῦ Ζωΐλου γέγονεν ἡ διαγραφ(αφή).

Back, upwards along the fibres: (m. 1?) πρᾶσις κα[μ]ήλου

7 l. ἐκ	9 l. συγκ-	10 l. τιμῆς	11 δραχμ̅	14 l. Σαραπίου; τραπέζ	16 l. τιμὴν
17 l. ἐπίτιμον	19 π of ἀπλῶς corr.	20 l. ὀφείλω	21 L ιζ, μῇ	23 l. Τιτᾶνος	
29 L ιζ	30 μῇ	31 διαγραφ̅			

'Anteis (?) son of Titan from the city of the Oxyrhynchi to Julius Florus freedman of Bola freedman of Divus Augustus, greetings. I acknowledge that I have sold to you the red camel which belongs to me, which has cast its first teeth and has two brands, one on the right thigh and the other on the right side of the neck, together with its pack-saddle just as it is, and that I have received from you in full as a capital sum the four hundred and forty drachmas of money of imperial and Ptolemaic coinage which we agreed with one another in respect of its price through the bank of Sarapion son of Zoilus at the Serapeum in the city of the Oxyrhynchi, and I shall guarantee you the sale with every guarantee or I shall pay the price

which I received from you with increase of a half and the damages and as a penalty another ... hundred drachmas and an equal number to the treasury, without prejudice to you Florus in any matter whatsoever connected with the exaction of the sums which I owe you in accordance with securities. The contract is enforceable.'

'Year 17 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, 10th of the month of Augustus.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Anteïs (?) son of Titan, have sold the camel and the pack-saddle and I am receiving as the price the four hundred and forty drachmas of money in full and I shall guarantee with every guarantee, without prejudice to Florus in the sums which I owe him in accordance with securities, as is aforesaid. I, Philonides son of Theon, wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters. Year 17 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, 10th of the month of Augustus.'

(3rd hand) 'Year 17 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, 11th of the month of Augustus; the bank draft was effected through the (bank) of Sarapion son of Zoilus.'

Back. (1st hand?) 'Sale of a camel ...'

1 For the name of the seller see below 23. On the name of his father, Titan, which is rare, see P. Mich. X 578 introd. pp. 3-4.

2-3 We can restore the gentile name of Florus as *Iulius* because he is a freedman of Bola who is a freedman of the emperor Augustus, from whom Bola will have derived the imperial *nomen*. The name Bola occurs only once in a Latin text and that is in a context which gives good reason to think that the person is the same as the *Βώλας* or *Βωλάς* here. The Latin text is a funerary inscription from Rome, CIL VI 4776:

*Iulia Bolae l(iberta) Glycera
Dardani Ti(berii) Caesaris Aug(usti)
et Augustae ser(ui) Archela-
iani mulier u(ixit) a(nnos) xxxvii.
Vitalis delictum eorum.*

'Julia Glycera, freedwoman of Bola, (and) wife of Dardanus slave of Tiberius Caesar Augustus and of the Augusta formerly of the household of Archelaus, lived 37 years. Vitalis, their darling.'

I take it that Vitalis was a son of Julia Glycera and Dardanus who died in childhood and was entombed with or near his mother. The inscription dates between the accession of Tiberius in AD 14 and the death of Livia in AD 29, to leave aside any considerations of the date when Dardanus may have exchanged the household of Archelaus for that of the imperial family, probably AD 17, see G. Boulvert, *Domestique et fonctionnaire* 26. Since this Bola was the patron of Julia Glycera, his *nomen* was Julius too, and there seems little reason to doubt that he was the freedman of Divus Augustus mentioned in the papyrus. We should like to know what Julius Florus was doing in Egypt and whether he might still have been acting on behalf of the emperor; cf. G. Boulvert *op. cit.* 5-8, but there is no way of making any profitable speculation.

The name of Bola is of unknown origin. H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom* iii p. 1304, takes *Bolae* in CIL 4776 to be from *Bolas* (?) and comments, 'Ζυ -βολος oder βωλος'. If *Βωλάς* were the correct form, it might be the hypocoristic of a Doric name derived from *βουλ-*, cf. e.g. P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews, *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* i 105 (*Βωλαγόρας-Βωλοκράτης*). Hypocoristics in *-ās* are very common in Egypt, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 16-18, but in the case of this unique name we have no special reason to think that Bola was Egyptian, although that would be one way of making some connection between Rome and Egypt.

5 *πυρρόν* This is a common colour for a camel, see P. Vindob. Worp. 9.5 n. (pp. 96-7).

πρωτοβόλον, 'having cast its first teeth'. The state of the incisors is the best indication of the age of some domestic animals, especially equids. A detailed study explaining this sort of terminology as applied to donkeys is given in CPR VI i pp. 19-25. There is no similar study for camels. For a donkey this term indicates an age of about two and a half to three and a half years.

5-7 On camel brands see the list in P. Vindob. Worp 9 (opp. p. 92).

8 The saddle is particularly important for transport by camel, see R.W. Bulliet, *The Camel and the Wheel* 87-110.

10-12 For the simultaneous use of Ptolemaic and imperial coinage, which is normal for the period, see L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, *Currency* 11-12, 67, cf. H. Harrauer, *ΣΠΕ* 36 (1979) 113 n. 4. The price of

440 drachmas is at the lower end of the range shown in Worp's list (P. Vindob. Worp opp. p. 92), but there is no comparative material for the first century. It has been calculated by H.-J. Drexhage, *Münsterische Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* V, i (1986) 41, that in the second century AD camel prices were roughly four times as high as donkey prices. His list of donkey prices, *ibid.*, pp. 42–3, shows only a very few items for the first century, but since the prices range between 72 and 108 drachmas it appears that the same rough calculation might prove true for the first century.

13–14 For the bank of the Serapeum in Oxyrhynchus see the list by A. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 261, brought up to date in P. Köln III 148. 3–4 n. Subsequent references are XLIX 3487 (1. x. 65), P. Turner 17 (AD 69), P. IFAO III 30 (I AD), P. Yale I 65 (after 138), LV 3798 (24–8. viii. 144). Sarapion son of Zoilus is a new banker. A Zoilus was manager there in 6/5 BC (PSI X 1099), who might possibly be the father. A successor, Sarapion son of Cleander (M. Chr. 281 = II 267) is known in AD 36.

18 On the treasury fine see A. Berger, *Strafklauseln* 31–8, 93–101.

19 κατά μηδέ]γ. Cf. XLIX 3485 32. On the μη ἐλαττουμένου clause see G. Häge, *Proceedings of the XII International Congress of Papyrology* 195–205.

20 ἐν τῇ πράξει] ὦν. Cf. P. Fouad 35. 13.

20–21 For the restoration of κυρία [ῆ χείρ], which must be short, cf. e.g. II 264 12 (AD 54). For the κυρία clause see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht* ii 145–6.

30–31 This subscription was added on the day after the contract was concluded and subscribed by the seller's amanuensis. On what is known about the bank διαγραφή see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht* ii 95–105, esp. 97, 100 and n. 90.

3916. PETITION TO A STRATEGUS

33 4B.83/E(5–7)a

10 × 21 cm

16 February–28 August 60

Petitions to officials form a large category among surviving papyri. They generally ask either for direct legal redress or, in the event that the offenders are unknown, for an official record of the offence to be made in case the possibility of proceedings for redress arises, cf. M. Gdz. 32–6. Here the writer has a female slave who lives in a room or flat in another man's house. On a previous occasion persons unknown had entered her dwelling and removed unspecified possessions of hers; her owner had reported the theft in a petition of the temporizing kind. A similar theft has occurred more recently, the goods being various textiles; her owner now sends in a second petition. The papyrus is broken at the foot. A conjectural restoration of the last surviving five lines would suggest that the slave suspected other residents of the same house, see 26–30 n. If this reconstruction is correct, no doubt her owner would have gone on to ask that the neighbours should be brought before the district governor for due process of law.

The large clear cursive writing runs along the fibres; there is no sheet-join. The back is blank.

(Read with Christoph Selzer.)

Τιβερίωι [Κλαυ]δίωι Ἀσκλη{ι}πιάδῃ

στρα[τηγ]ῶι,

παρὰ Θέωνο[ς το]ῦ Διονυσίου.

καὶ ἄλλοτε μὲν ἐπιβαλό-

5 μενοί τινες κακουργότε-

ρον ἐφ' ὃν ἡ δούλη μου Ἐπί-
 χαρις καταγίνεται οἶκον
 Νικάνορός τινος οἰκίας
 ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Χηνοβοσκῶν
 10 καὶ ἀπενεγκάμενοί τινα
 τῶν τῆς Ἐπιχαρίου, προελ-
 θὼν κατεχώρισα τὸ ἀρμό-
 ζον ὑπόμνημα. καὶ τῇ δὲ
 μιᾷ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ Μεχειρ
 15 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔκτου ἔτους
 Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος
 Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκράτ(ορος)
 ἐν ἀλλοδημῖα μου καθεστῶ-
 τος, κατὰ τ[ὸν] αὐτὸν τρόπον
 20 ἐπιβαλομένων τινῶν κα-
 κουργότερον ἐπὶ τὸν δηλού-
 μενον οἶκον καὶ ἀπενεγ-
 καμένων τῆς δούλης Ἐπι-
 χαρίου τύλην λινῆν, δίλας-
 25 σον ὁμοίως, χιτῶνα ἀραιόν,
 ἕτερον στιππ[ύϊνον]
 Ἐπιχαρίου ὑπο[.]
 της τοῦτο δια[.]
 ὑπὸ τῶν συνκα[.]
 30] . εν[10-12 letters

7 1. καταγίνεται

17 αυτοκρατς

'To Tiberius Claudius Asclepiades, strategus, from Theon son of Dionysius.'

'On another occasion too, when certain persons feloniously broke into the flat where my slave Epicharis lives in a house belonging to a certain Nicanor in the Gooseherds' district and carried off some of Epicharis's goods, I came forward and filed the appropriate memorandum. But since also on the twenty-first of Mecheir of the present sixth year of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, while I was out of town, certain persons in like manner feloniously broke into the flat already mentioned and carried off from my slave Epicharis a linen cushion, a *dilasson* likewise (of linen), a fine tunic, (and) another of coarse linen, ...

1-2 Cf. G. Bastianini, J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* (Pap. Flor. XV) 88, citing XXXVIII 2851 1, 22 (24 July 60) and SB XII 10788 B. 23 (28 April 62). The date of 3916 lies between 16 February and 29 August, see 13-17 and n., 18-19 n. It does not necessarily predate 2851.

3 In I 94 (AD 83) the principal person is Dionysius son of Theon grandson of Dionysius, see B. W. Jones, J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Register of Oxyrhynchites* 73, No. 1358; his father could possibly be the petitioner here.

4-11 The nominative participles hang in the air, a lack of construction which is not rare, cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 356-8 (§ 879).

6-7 Ἐπιχαρίς. Contrast 11, 23-4, 27, where the genitive appears as Ἐπιχαρίου. There is a late Greek masculine and neuter declension which runs -ις/-ιν (= -ιος/-ιον), -ιν, -ίου, -ίω, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 25-6, cf. 115. This feminine name looks as if it is following that pattern. Otherwise we must assume that the writer fluctuated between the diminutive form with nominative in -ιον and the one given here.

7 οἶκον. Cf. G. Husson, *OIKIA* 211-15. In this context the word may denote either a single room or a suite of rooms in unitary occupation, *ibid.* 213-14.

8 Νικάνορος. Some candidates for identification can be found in B. W. Jones, J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Register of Oxyrhynchites* 141 Nos. 2810-13, but none is specially likely.

9 Χρηνοβοσκῶν. Cf. H. Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus* 27.

10 ἀπενεγκάμενοι. On the replacement of the second aorist endings by those of the first, which is frequent, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 335-345; for this verb esp. 338-340. Cf. below 22-3.

11 Cf. 6-7 n.

13-17 21 Mecheir, 6 Nero = 16 February 60. For calculations in a leap year see W. Gdz. LV-LVI, WO I pp. 789-90.

18-19 It seems to be implied that the petition was presented later than would have been the case if the petitioner had been in Oxyrhynchus when the robbery took place. The delay may have been short or long; all we can say is that, since the sixth year is described in line 15 as the present year, the document dates between 16 February, see 13-17 n., and 29 August 60, which was the first day of the seventh regnal year.

22-3 ἀπενεγκάμενων. Cf. 10 n.

23-4 Cf. 6-7 n.

24-5 δῖλaccov. The meaning is obscure, see LI 3626 16-17 n., LIV 3776 17 n.

26-30 One possible way of understanding the remains would be as follows:

ἕτερον στιπη[ύινον. τῆς δὲ
Ἐπιχαρίου ὑπό[οιαν ἐχού-
σης τοῦτο δια[πεπράχθαι
ὑπὸ τῶν συνκα[ταγινόμε- (l. κυγκ-)
νων αὐτ]ῇ ἐν [τῇ... (οἰκία),

'... and since Epicharis has a suspicion that this has been perpetrated by those who are living like her in the house ...' The petitioner would then have gone on to ask the strategus to summon the suspects and conduct an inquiry. Of course, this is not certain, but cf. P. Ryl. II 127. 15-23 καθυπονοῶ δὲ τοῦτο διαπ(ε)ρακέναι (l. -χέναι) Παποντῶν ... καὶ Φηλικίωνα ... διὸ ἀξιῶ{ι} ... ἀναζητῆσαι ... καὶ τοὺς αἰτίους ἐξαποστεῖλαι ἐπὶ σὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐσομένην ἐπέξοδ(ον); II 146. 10-14 ... ἐπιβαλόντες ... εἰς ὃν καταγείνομαι οἶκον ἐν τῷ ... ἐποικίω ..., 18-23 ... καθυπονοῶ δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἐποικίῳ καταγεινομένους. διὸ ἀξιῶ ... ἀναζητῆσαι ... πρὸς τὴν δέουσαν ἐπέξοδ(ον); II 139. 14-24 ὑπονοῶ{ι} ὅν τὸ τοιοῦτω (= -το) γεγόνει ὑπὸ τῶν καταγινόμενων ἐν ... διὸ ἀξιῶ{ι} ... τοὺς τὸ τοιοῦτο διαπράξαντες (= -τας) ἀχθῆναι ἐπὶ σὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐσομένην ἐπέξοδον.

27 Cf. 6-7 n.

3917. LETTER OF A STATOR TO A STRATEGUS

34 4B.74/D(1-2)a

16.5 × 20 cm

Early second century

Although the correspondents are officials and the subject is judicial business, this letter looks unofficial. The writer, a Roman *stator* called Primianus whose *nomen* is damaged, and a second man called Julius Eros, who added a postscript (9-11), were

exerting their influence on the recipient, a strategus of the Heracleopolite nome, to persuade him to give a hearing more quickly to a person accused in connection with a mortgage contract. It would be possible to view this charitably as not being undue influence, but it looks utterly unofficial at the least.

The *stator* must have been in the service of the prefect of Egypt, see 1 n. He refers to a previous conversation with Apollonius in the *praetorium*, the prefect's headquarters, most probably the one in Alexandria, see 3, 10 and nn.

The first hand writes in a good large round script, distant kin to book hands of the 'Roman uncial' type (G. Cavallo, *ASNP* 36 (1967) 209–220), decorated with rather fluent rounded serifs, but with some exuberant initial letters and clearly not to be classed as a book hand. A good parallel to the type is M. Norsa, *Scritture Documentarie* Tav. XV (PSI V 446), containing an edict of the prefect of Egypt of AD 133–7; that, however, is more formal and careful than 3917. Medea Norsa, op. cit. p. 24, regarded it as a sort of 'Chancery hand', perhaps not wrongly, in the sense that it may emanate from high official quarters, although nowadays that term is reserved for a different style, see G. Cavallo, *Aegyptus* 45 (1965) 216–49. A peculiarity of the text, suggesting the influence of Latin, is the frequent use of points, most of which seem intended to be at middle height and to act simply as word dividers, although the first one in line 1 is placed high and may be intended as punctuation in the modern sense. On the use of the interpunct in Latin see P. J. Parsons, *JRS* 69 (1979) 131, esp. n. 43, which indicates that it was beginning to die out by the end of the first century AD, cf. J. D. Thomas in H. M. Cotton, J. Geiger, *Masada II* 31 and n. 16. This may suggest that the date of this document is to be sought nearer to AD 100 than to AD 150.

A sheet-join running vertically about 3.5 cm from the left margin shows that the writing runs along the fibres of the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut. The back is blank.

(Read with Michael A. Speidel.)

...]ιος Πρειμιανός στάτωρ Ἀπολλωνίῳ στρα-
τηγῶ Ἡρακλεοπολείτου χαίρειν.

παρακε]κλήκαμέν σε ἐν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ ἐγὼ
καὶ οἱ συ]γκολλῆσαι ἵνα, εἴαν σοι δόξη, ἀκου-
5 σθῇ . .]ιρις, ἐκδίκου Σαραπίωνος, πρὸς
Ἀπ[. .]ν ἀντίδικον, ἔχοντα ὑπὲρ ὑπο-
θήκης ἧς φαύλως ὑπέθετο, καὶ δικα[ι-
οδ[ο]τηθῇ. παρακαλῶ δὲ ταχύτερον αὐτὸ[ν

1 1. Πριμιανός; στατωρ· απολλωνιω·

2 τηγω·; 1. Ἡρακλεοπολίτου; χαιρειν·

3 πραιτωριω·

4 1. συγκολλῆσαι

5 εκδικου· σαραπιωνος·

6 αντιδικον·

7 υπεθετο·

ἀκοῦσαι. (m. 2) Ἰούλιος Ἐρως εἰ μὴ σε παρεκάλεσα[
 10 ἐν τῷ Δαφνῶνι, ταχέως ἀπαρτίσει περὶ οὗ ἐντ[υγχα-
 νη. ἔρρωσο, κύριε Ἀπολλώνιε, (m. 1) ἔρρωσο κα[ι] διευτύχ[ει].
 πανοικί. Παῦνι.

(m. 3)

.

9 first ε of παρεκάλεσα corr. from α

10 l. ἀπαρτίσει

12 παννι.

'... ius Primianus, *stator*, to Apollonius, strategus of the Heracleopolite nome, greetings.'

'We, my fellow colleagues and I, made a request to you in the *praetorium* that ...iris, whose legal representative is Sarapion, should, if you please, receive a hearing against an adversary, Ap..., who is bringing a case about a mortgage which he(?) pledged improperly, and that judgement should be delivered. I request you to give him a hearing more quickly.'

(2nd hand) 'If I, Julius Eros, did not make the request to you in the Laurel Grove, (sc. even so, I do now ask you) to settle quickly the case about which you are being approached(?).'

'Farewell, lord Apollonius, with all your household!'

(1st hand) 'Farewell and prosper!'

'Payni.'

(3rd hand) '...'

1 It is uncertain how many letters should be restored at the beginning. The beginnings of lines 6–9 survive in this hand and range vertically about one average letter to the left of]1. It seems unlikely that the *nomen* here was so short. Line 2 is indented to range beneath the initial letter of Πρεμιανός. Line 3, where παρακε[κλήκαμεν seems inevitable, cf. 9, must have been set out about two average letters to the left of the beginnings of 6–9. If line 1 ranged with 3, about three letters would be lost here, but we can have no confidence that it did. It may well have begun even further to the left, so that there is no real clue to the length of the *nomen*. The Ulpius Primianus who was prefect of Egypt c. 195–6, see most recently P. Prag. I 23. 9, is not likely to be relevant in any way. No *stator* would be likely to reach that rank.

This man could in theory have been a *stator* of a *praefectus alae*, for example, cf. P. Hamb. I p. 176, but the mentions of the *praetorium* (3) and the *Daphnon*, see 10 n., point clearly to the prefect's staff. Primianus is the only *stator praefecti Aegypti* known to us by name. One would be inclined to suppose that his colleague Julius Eros was another, if the *cognomen* Eros did not suggest a doubt, cf. 9 n. Three references to *στάτωρ* are given by S. Daris, *Il Lessico Latino nel Greco d'Egitto* 109: SB V 8248. 23 mentions them generally along with other military ranks; P. Hamb. 39 No. 48 refers to Marcus Valerius, a *stator* of the *ala veterana Gallica* (Taf. XII); P. Erl. 105. 46 is hardly likely to be relevant. It has now been convincingly restored by T. C. Skeat to read τῷ [δ]πι[νιά]τορι τῶν κάτρω, see P. Beatty Panop. 2. 41 n., cf. J. D. Thomas, *YCS* 28 (1985) 118–9.

On the *statores* of the prefect of Egypt and particularly their commander the *archistator* see J. F. Gilliam, *Roman Army Papers* 223–6 = *Class. Phil.* 56 (1961) 100–103, H.-G. Pflaum, *MEFRA* 71 (1959) 281–6, after which another *archistator* has turned up in XXXVI 2754 9–10. In essence the *statores* were military police. The earliest mentions of them, in Cicero's letters (*ad fam* ii 17, 1; 19, 2), show them as letter carriers, cf. perhaps CIL VI ii 4249 *stator(is) a(b?) epis(tulis?)*, with G. Boulvert, *Esclaves et affranchis* 75. They had charge of prisoners who were to be produced in court, cf. [Ulp.] Dig. 4. 6. 10 *qui a militibus statoribusque uel a municipalibus ministeriis adseruantur* ... This aspect occurs also in II 294 (AD 22), where two members of the staff of a strategus are held in custody (ἐν κος[τ]ωδε[ί]α, 20–21) on the prefect's orders till the judicial review at the *conuentus*, unless they can persuade the *archistator* to give surety for them. The most recent reference to the *archistator* also shows him with duties relating to the *conuentus*. On that occasion in AD 111 the *archistator* was to be applied to by those who had had *amici* of the prefect assigned to them as judges but had not yet had their cases settled (XXXVI 2754 8–10). This suggests that the duties of the *archistator* had become more attached to the ordering of cases than to the production of prisoners in court. In the present case too the *stator* was more concerned with the date of the hearing than with the custody of persons.

1-2 Apollonius is such a very common name that G. Bastianini, J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 62-5, can offer four strategi of the Heracleopolite nome called by it, not all the same man, but all of them possibly close enough in date to be the same as this one: P. Harris II 179. 1 (late I?; no provenance), XIX 2230 (soon after June/July 119; Oxyrhynchus), SB V 7601 C. 2. 11 (12. vii. 135; Antinoopolis), P. Strasb. 652 C verso (II; no provenance).

The likeliest reason for finding at Oxyrhynchus a document addressed to the strategus of another district is that that strategus was an Oxyrhynchite who brought his papers home after serving as strategus elsewhere, see J. G. Tait, *JEA* 8 (1922) 166-73, showing that this office could not be held by a native of the district governed. It follows that there is an increased likelihood that the strategus of XIX 2230 is the same as this one and that this one dates from the same period c. AD 120. There is also some possibility that P. Harris II 179 comes from Oxyrhynchus, see *ibid.* p. vii, but this is more remote, and its script looks a little earlier than is suitable.

3 *πραιτωρίω*. A *praetorium* is the residence and headquarters of a governor or other high Roman officer, such as a *dux*, see A. Łukaszewicz, *Les édifices publics dans les villes de l'Égypte romaine* 49-51, 177-8, cf. Archer Martin, 'Praetoria as Provincial Governors' Palaces', in M. Piérart, O. Curty (edd.), *Mélanges ... T. Zawadzki* 229-240. The word does not apply only to the *praetorium* in Alexandria, about which little is known, although it is clearly mentioned in LV 3813 58, but also to headquarters buildings in the district capitals which might be visited by the governor. They are attested for Antinoopolis, Arsinoe, Hermopolis, Oxyrhynchus, Panopolis, see Łukaszewicz, *op. cit.* 177-8, and possibly for Memphis, *ibid.* 50. I argue below in 10 n. on *ἐν τῷ Δαφνῶνι* that this one is most likely to be the *praetorium* of Alexandria.

4 *καὶ οἱ συγκολληγαι*. The remains of *nu* are unmistakable, and it is difficult to know what to restore. We expect line 4 to range with 6-9 rather than with 3, which is likely to have been set out into the left margin as being the first line of the body of the letter, just as line 1 was set out as being the first line of the prescript. If so, the amount missing would be about five average letters. Although the end of line 3 is broken, comparison with the ends of 4-6 indicates that there is not room there to allow *ἐγὼ [καὶ οἱ ἡμῶν] συγκολληγαι*. I therefore suggest *ἐγὼ [[καὶ οἱ συγκολληγαι]*, although I would hesitate to restore the hybrid *συγκολληγαι* if it were not for the recent support from P. Col. VII 188. 26-30, seven instances, even if most are damaged.

5 *... ιρις*. The first iota is unusual for this hand in that it descends very low and curves back strongly at the foot, but it seems certain. It is joined from the left at the top by a horizontal, suitable for γ, ε, η, θ, ς, τ. For possibilities see F. Dornseiff, B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wb. d. gr. Eigennamen* 202. It should be a man's name, since *αὐτόρ[ος]* is clearly preferable to the feminine form in 8, although the presence of the *ἐκδικος*, 'legal representative', might suggest a woman defendant, cf. e.g. L. Wenger, *Stellvertretung* 134, but BGU I 361 ii 14-16 has an *ἐκδικος* acting with his brother, who was under age, see *ibid.* 149.

6-7 It seems that it is the adversary who was the plaintiff, see F. Preisigke WB s.v. *ἔχω* (14), and the case arose because he had mortgaged some property to the man in whose interest this letter was written. It is clear that the blame is attributed to the plaintiff, as it would be by the defendant's supporter, but it is not clear what is implied by *ὑποθήκης ἥς φάυλως ὑπέθετο*, '... a mortgage which he pledged improperly'.

9-11 This sentence tends to suggest that Julius Eros was another *stator*, one who had not been present on the occasion mentioned above in 3-4, but the *cognomen* Eros, which suggests a slave or freedman, raises a doubt. Compare, however, CIL VI 4249, with G. Boulvert, see above 1 n. para. 3.

10 *ἐν τῷ Δαφνῶνι*. The 'Laurel Grove' appears elsewhere in the papyri only in XXII 2343 10 *ἐνέτυχόν* *ἐ[πὶ] πρὸς τῷ δαφνῶνι*, see also the revised edition by R. A. Coles, *ZPE* 61 (1985) 110-114. This document concerns the plight of a citizen of Oxyrhynchus appointed to be *decaprotus* while he was already serving as eirenarch of the city. He appealed to the prefect of Egypt Valerius Pompeianus. The written appeal received an answer in the form of a subscription instructing him to apply *ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων*, that is, before the prefect in his court. He did so through a deputy, no doubt because the business of the eirenarchy required his presence in Oxyrhynchus and the prefect was elsewhere. The deputy instructed an advocate and tried to apply in court. By then it was Thursday, a holiday for the prefect's court, see now LIV 3741 introd. He tried on the Friday and was told that the prefect was busy with embassies and other matters. Next day, *πρὸς τῷ Δαφνῶνι*, he appeared before the prefect, who told him to submit another written application, which is 2343 4-13. Ironically this received a subscription ordering another application in court. Perhaps fortunately our documentary evidence finishes there. The question for us is the location of the Laurel Grove, which seems, now that it has appeared twice, to deserve capital letters. It was not in Oxyrhynchus or in Heracleopolis but in some place where the prefect's court could be held, and that over a long period, for

the events in **2343** date to December, AD 287. It seems most likely that this was in Alexandria, the chief residence and place of business for the prefect.

10-11 The tau and nu of ἐντ[υχά]νη seem satisfactory, but this may not be the only possibility. It suits the sense well enough for a stop-gap.

13-14 These two lines are in a small upright hand and very densely and rapidly written. They look as if they might be in Latin, which would not be surprising in this context, but I have not succeeded in reaching any certainty about a single letter.

3918. CENSUS RETURN

37 4B.103/D(1-3)a

7 × 15 cm

188/9

For the latest summary of the literature relating to census returns see P. Prag. I 17 introd., cf. *ibid.* p. 65; add J. Whitehorne, *Symbolae Osloenses* 65 (1990) 139-45. The number now published was estimated fairly recently as 270 by G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, No. 4 (1987: items of 1979) p. 89.

The declarer was a citizen of Antinoopolis, not necessarily resident there, who registered his house in the Oxyrhynchite village of Tanais. Professor Bagnall suggests to me that, since the oath directly follows the description of the property, the house would have had no occupants at the time. Although the bottom edge is not very regular, it is probable that the piece was broken or cut deliberately to produce a convenient shape for the complete small private letter which stands on the back (**3919**). The first part of the prescript, which would have specified which of the many possible officials received the return, was omitted, although a large upper margin c. 2.5 cm deep was left. It is possible that this was a private copy retained by the declarer, as already suggested by its secondary use for the letter, although the absence of an address is seen in other examples, cf. J. Whitehorne, *Symbolae Osloenses* 65 (1990) 139-140, and cannot be taken as a guarantee that any particular text was never submitted to an official.

No sheet-join survives. The writing on this side runs parallel with the fibres, across them in **3919**.

(Read with Robert Cramer.)

παρὰ Καραπίωνος τοῦ καὶ
 Εὐσεβοῦς Καραπίωνος
 Ματιδαίου τοῦ καὶ Θεοδο-
 φορείου. ἀπογρ(άφομαι) κατὰ τὰ
 5 κελευσθ(έντα) ὑπὸ Τινηΐου
 Δημητρίου τ[ο]ῦ λαμ-
 προτάτου ἡγεμόνος
 καὶ Αὐρηλί[ου Οὐ]ρηριανοῦ
 τοῦ ἡγεμονεύσαντος

10 πρὸς τὴν τοῦ διελθ(όντος) κη (ἔτους)
 Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου
 Ἀντωνίου Καίσαρος
 τοῦ κυρίου κατ'οἰκίαν
 ἀπογρα(φὴν) τὴν ὑπάρχου-
 15 σάν μοι ἐπὶ κώ(μῃ)
 Τανάϊ ἐν τ(οῖς) ἀπὸ νότ(ου)
 καὶ ἀπηλ(ιώτου) μέρεσι τῆς
 α(ὕτης) κώ(μης) οἰκ(ίαν) καὶ αἶθ(ριον) καὶ
 καμάρας καὶ ἀνλ(ήν) καὶ
 20 ὁμνύω τὴν Αὐρηλίου
 Κομμόδου Ἀντων[ί]ν[ου]
 Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου

4 ἀπογρ^ς 5 κελευ^θ ὑποτινηίου 10 διελ^θ κη^ς 14 ἀπογρα^ς, ὑπ- 15 κω⁻
 16 ταναϊ; 1. Τανάει; εν^ταπονο^τ 17 ἀπη^λ 18 ᾠκω⁻ οἰ^κ, αἰ^θ 19 αυ^λ

‘From Sarapion alias Eusebes son of Sarapion, of the Matidian tribe and the Thesmophorian deme. I register according to the instructions given by Tineius Demetrius, the most glorious prefect, and Aurelius Verianus, the ex-prefect, for the house by house registration of the past 28th year of Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar, the lord, the house which belongs to me in the village of Tanais in the south-east sections of the same village, and a light well and vaults and a courtyard, and I swear by the (fortune) of Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Caesar the lord ...’

1–2 The name of Sarapion alias Eusebes son of Sarapion does not appear in the list of P. V. Pistorius, *Indices Antinoopolitani*. One or more of the Sarapions there could be the same as those here, but there are no indications. Either the father or the son could be the same as the sender of the letter on the back (3919).

This name offers a solution to the problem of the address of LVI 3852 seemingly to *Καραπίωνι εὐσεβεῖ*, see *ibid.* 24 n. Similar elements in the inventory numbers, here 4B.103, there 4B.94, indicate that both documents were found in the fourth season of excavations at Oxyrhynchus (Behnesa, 1904/5), possibly not very far apart. A parallel involving coincidentally similar names, but from a different place and a date nearly a century later, is P. Turner 37; in this an Alexandrian who owns a house in Arsinoe is addressed as *Αὐρηλίω Καραπίων[ι] Εὐσεβίω* (1), while his own autograph subscription has *Αὐρήλιος Καραπί[ω]ν ὁ καὶ Εὐσεβίω[ς]* (25), see *ibid.* Plate XVI. Probably in the informal style of a private letter it was even easier to juxtapose the names rather than link them with the official *τῷ καί*.

A man with the same alias and the same patronymic appears in another text from Oxyrhynchus, P. Select. (= Pap. Lugd. Bat. XIII) 23. 16 *ἐπρίατο* ... ὁ καὶ Εὐσεβῆς Καραπίων[ος] τοῦ Πτολεμαίου μη(τρὸς) Διονυσίας. He had an unnamed sister by the same parents, who was also his wife, and a brother by the same parents called Ptolemaeus alias Germanus (?; all letters of the alias dotted). This text is ascribed to the first century because of the script and the low prices of the slaves whose purchases are mentioned in previous entries of the list, the editorial indication of the space does not suit the name Sarapion very well, and the man is not given Antinoite tribe and deme names. Nevertheless, there may be some remote possibility that he is the same as ours, or if not, perhaps an older relative.

3–4 On Antinoite tribes and demes see E. Kühn, *Antinoopolis* 123–32, H. I. Bell, *JRS* 30 (1940) 140–141.

5-9 The names of the two prefects are well known in connection with this census, cf. P. Prag. I 22. 3-5 n.

10 The past 28th regnal year of Commodus ended on 28 August 188; the present document dates from the next year, 29 August 188 to 28 August 189. It is normal for returns to date from the year after that specified as the census year, see M. Hombert, C. Préaux, *Recherches sur le recensement* 76-84.

16 *Τανάϊ* (= *Τανάει*). Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 197. The name of this village of the Middle toparchy is the same as the Greek name of the Russian river Don and of a settlement at its mouth. An *ἐποίκιον* in the same toparchy was called *Ἰστρον*, see Pruneti, p. 73, the name of the Danube and a settlement at the mouth of the Danube. It may be that these place names reflect the presence of Thracian immigrants in the area, compare in general V. Velkov, A. Fol, *Les Thraces en Egypte Gréco-Romaine*.

18-19 For the terms *αἶθριον*, *καμάρα*, and *αὐλή* see G. Husson, *OIKIA* s. vv.

3919. PRIVATE LETTER

37 4B.103/D(1-3)a

7 × 15 cm

After 28 August 188

This letter stands on the back of **3918**, a fragmentary copy of a census return dating from the year 188/9. Both sender and recipient were called Sarapion and the recipient was addressed as a son. The return was submitted by Sarapion alias Eusebes son of Sarapion, a citizen of Antinoopolis, registering a house which he owned in the Oxyrhynchite village of Tanais. That house seems to have been empty at the time, see **3918** introd. It looks as if the copy of the census return was kept as a record until it was thought to be useless, then cut up and a part of it used for a family letter. The date of the letter must be later than 28 August 188, the *terminus post quem* for the return. How much later cannot be calculated objectively, but the letter is not likely to be later than, say, AD 200. The rapid, practised hand is consistent with this guess.

The Sarapions cannot be distinguished for certain. If the sender was Sarapion alias Eusebes, Sarapion his son would be of the third generation and not mentioned in the surviving part of the census return. Or it could conceivably be a letter of the father written to Sarapion alias Eusebes.

In papyri terms of blood relationship are not very reliable, see e.g. XLVIII **3396** introd., LV **3808** introd., but the letter appears to concern a family consisting of Sarapion the father, Sarapion the son, his mother and a brother. The money transactions concerned remain incomprehensible.

(Read with Robert Cramer.)

Σαραπίων Σαραπίω-
 νι τῷ υἱῷ χαίρειν.
 διεπεμψάμην σοι διὰ
 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου (δραχμας) ις, ὅ-
 πως ἀπαρτίσῃς μοι

τὴν ις⁻. ἐὰν οἶον ᾦν,
καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου
λάμ[β]αν[ε] παρὰ τῆς μη-
τρος σου τὰς ἑσας (δραχμὰς) ις,
10 καὶ διαπέμψομαι
αὐτῇ. ἐὰν ᾦς λαβὼν
τὰς (δραχμὰς) ρ, δὲ αὐτῇ.
ἐὰν δὲ μή, πέμψον
μοι, ὅπως ἀναβὰς αἰ-
15 τήσω ἐγώ. ἔρρωσο. ` . . `.

4 515

6 1. ᾦ

9 515

12 5ρ

14 ρ corr. (from τ?)

‘Sarapion to Sarapion his son, greetings. I sent you by way of your brother 16 dr., so that you may settle the 16 (-drachma tax?) for me. If it is possible, get the same (amount of) 16 dr. from your mother for your brother too, and I shall send (the same amount) to her. If you are in receipt of the 100 dr., give (them?) to her. If not, send me (word), so that I may come up and ask for (them) myself. Farewell.’

6 τὴν ις⁻. I take this to be a tax of 16 drachmas, rather than a tax of one-sixteenth, in spite of the absence here of any symbol for drachmas, because of the preceding reference to a sum of 16 drachmas and because S. L. Wallace, *Taxation* 126–7, tentatively concluded that this was the full rate of poll-tax for Oxyrhynchus, while his book contains no mention of any tax of one-sixteenth. Many Antinoite citizens were recruited from the Hellenized classes of the rest of Egypt and the families often retained connections with their places of origin, cf. H. I. Bell, *JRS* 30 (1940) 138–9. If we could be sure that Antinoite citizens resident in Oxyrhynchus had to pay full poll-tax rather than the reduced rate of 12 drachmas, this would be interesting, but the idea needs firmer evidence to corroborate it, especially since there is evidence that a father of Antinoite children claimed to be exempt from head taxes (ἐπικεφάλια) in his place of residence, see W. Chr. 28. On the complicated evidence for the poll-tax in relation to Antinoites see M. Zahrt, ANRW II 10. 1 693–5.

ᾦν = ᾦ. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 405 for the unexpected frequency of this phonetic error.

11 ᾦς λαβὼν. For such periphrastic forms see Gignac, op. cit. ii 289–90, 305–7, cf. LV 3808 6–7, 3819 14–15, 3820 12, 13–14.

14 ἀναβάς. Since the letter was found at Oxyrhynchus, that should be the destination referred to here. ‘Up’ commonly indicates movement (a) southwards—up the Nile, (b) from village to district capital, (c) from the Nile valley to what we call the desert, and what they usually called the mountain (ὄρος), see especially H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* i 493 (= *HTR* 41 (1948) 15) n. 36. Sense (c) does not suit the destination, Oxyrhynchus. The journey from Antinoopolis to Oxyrhynchus was northward, not suiting (a). A journey from Tanais, see introd., to Oxyrhynchus would suit (b). One might speculate that the family had residences both in the metropolis and in the village, and probably also in Antinoopolis, but this is no more than speculation. The letter might have been written from somewhere north of Oxyrhynchus, from Alexandria, for instance, though that makes the sender provident enough to take some scrap paper with him for letters home.

15 The short addition above the line is puzzling. It does not look like μοι, which is the only appropriate short addition that I can think of.

3920. EXTRACT FROM RECORDS OF *EPICRISIS*

100/54(b)

11.5 × c. 20(?) cm

214 or later?

The clear gains from this text are the recovery of the name of Julius Marcus, a new *praefectus classis Augustae Alexandrinae*, see 5–6 n., and the second appearance of M. Aurelius Apollonius, hierophant, who is known from XXXVI 2782, assigned for plausible but now probably wrong reasons to the late second century rather than the early third, see 16–17 n.

There is a problem about the true nature of the document which is aggravated by the severe damage which it has suffered. One group of the fragile and darkened scraps can be pieced together with the help of the parallels to give parts of a top margin and in 13 lines the prescript of an extract from a governor's roll of epicrisis. Line 13 is broken, but it was short and to the right of it under line 12 is a depth of c. 1.7 cm of blank papyrus at the place where we would expect to find the beginning of the details relating to some individual whose credentials had been examined by the *praefectus classis* acting on the governor's orders. For the type of document of which this is the prescript see C. A. Nelson, *Status Declarations in Roman Egypt* 40–46; add P. Diog. (= P. Schubert, *Les archives de Marcus Lucretius Diogenes*) 5–7, cf. 8. The dozen or so parallels range from AD 103 to 188, so that this example has the interest of being the latest yet known.

Another group of fragments can be assembled to show at the top remains of two badly broken lines, the second of which ends in the typical farewell formula of a letter:]. εὔχομαι, i.e. something like ἐπρω̄σθαί τε εὔχομαι. It was hardly εὐχόμε(εθα), because after a blank space c. 1.5 cm deep are two well preserved lines: 'From Marcus Aurelius Apollonius, hierophant'. Below this is a deep lower margin of c. 6 cm. Remaining unplaced are about a dozen tiny scraps, mostly blank, one or two with a few remains of ink.

The amount lost between the upper composite fragment and the lower one cannot be discovered for certain, but it does not seem likely that a very large section is missing in the middle. It looks more as if Apollonius copied out a section of the extract and sent it to someone with a note written at the foot instead of a separate covering letter. It is curious that it was the prescript that was of interest rather than the individual details. By way of explanation we might guess that he had previously supplied an extract covering the personal details of the scrutiny and was afterwards asked for a copy of the prescript, cf. 15 n. The prescript was important because it gave the key to the location among the public records of the official file from which the status of an individual could be checked or proved.

There is no sheet-join; the writing is parallel with the fibres. The back is blank so far as it is well preserved, but one of the unplaced fragments has slight remains running across the fibres which could be part of an endorsement. It is also possible that this scrap does not belong.

(Read with Paul Schubert.)

ἐκ τόμο[υ ἐπικρίσε]ων, οὗ προγραφῆ: [οἱ] ὑπο-
 γεγραμμέν[οι οὐετρανο]ὶ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ἀπελεύ-
 θεροι καὶ δοῦ[λοι καὶ ἔ]τεροι ἐπεκρίθησαν ἐν Αἰγύ-
 πτωι ὑπ[ὸ] Couβατι]ανοῦ Ἀκύλα ἐπάρχου
 5 Αἰγύπτου [διὰ Ἰουλίου] Μάρκου ἐπάρχου στο-
 λου Σεβαστ[οῦ Ἀλεξ]ανδρινοῦ τῷ M[ε]χεῖρ
 μη(νὶ) καὶ Φα[μενώθ] μη(νὶ) τοῦ ι]. (ἔτους) τῶν κυρίων
 Αὐτοκρατόρων [Σευήρου] καὶ Ἀντωνίνου
 Εὐσεβῶν Σεβασ[τῶν. (vac.?) ἃ δ]ὲ παρέθεντο δι-
 10 κεύματα τῷ προγεγραμμένῳ Ἰουλίῳ Μάρ-
 κῳ ἐ[κ]άστῳ ὁ[μό]ματι παράκειται ἐν τόμοις
 δ-. [(vac.?) μεθ' ἕτερα κο]λλημ(άτων) β-. Ὁξυρυγ-
 χεῖ[του. (vac.?)] (vac.)
 [(vac.?)] (vac.)

 .] . . . [c. 30 letters
 15 διαπεμψ[c. 12 letters] . εὐχομ(αι). [
 (vac.)
 παρὰ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀπολλωνίου
 ἱεροφάντου.

1 ὑπο- 4 ὑπ[ο 7 μη', ι]. 5 9 l. παρέθεντο 9-10 l. δικαιώματα
 12 κολλημς β 12-13 l. Ὁξυρυγίτου 15 ευχομ

'From a roll of scrutinies, with the prescript, "The underwritten veterans and Romans and freedmen and slaves and others were scrutinized in Egypt by Subatianus Aquila, prefect of Egypt, by agency of Julius Marcus, *praefectus classis Augustae Alexandrinae*, in the month of Mecheir and the month of Phamenoth of the *n*th year of the lords emperors Severus and Antoninus, Pii, Augusti." The legal proofs which they laid before the aforewritten Julius Marcus are annexed to each name in 4 rolls. After other matter in 2 (or 20?) sheets, "Oxyrhynchite nome" ...'

'From Marcus Aurelius Apollonius, hierophant.'

4-5 The prefect Ti. Claudius Subatianus Aquila is well known, see G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 305-6; 38 (1980) 85; add XLVII 3345, 3364. It has also emerged that he was the first prefect of Mesopotamia, see D. French, *Anatolian Studies* 27 (1977) 191-2, *AE* 1979 No. 625, D. L. Kennedy, *ZPE* 36 (1979) 255-62.

5-6 Julius Marcus, cf. 10-11 for the *nomen*, is a new prefect of the Alexandrian fleet, see the list by S. Daris, *Aegyptus* 63 (1983) 126-7, which is more correct and more complete than the one in M. Reddé, *Mare Nostrum* (1986) 677. He is the latest known; for his date range, AD 206-11, see 7-9 n.

A namesake, who could possibly have been a relative, was a governor in Britain in AD 213, see A. R. Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain* 166–8, with references to other namesakes, cf. G. R. Stephens, *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 87 (1987) 53–60. It is impossible that a fleet prefect, an equestrian in a sexagenarian post (D. Kienast, *Untersuchungen zu den Kriegsflotten* 42 n. 54), should rise to one of the most important consular governorships, and especially in so short a period. The rise of Mevius Honoratianus from the prefecture of one of the praetorian fleets, Ravenna or Misenum, in AD 226, see E. Zerbinate, *Epigraphica* 50 (1988) 235–43, esp. 240–1, to the prefecture of Egypt by AD 232 is by no means a parallel.

The use of Marcus as a *cognomen* among the official classes seems to be characteristic of this period and not so rare as might be thought, see Birley, op. cit. 167–8, O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen* 164–6, esp. 166, cf. J. D. Thomas, *The Epistrategos* ii 197, No. 25.

Surprisingly little is known about the Alexandrian fleet, see C. G. Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy* 109–114, 212, E. Sander, *Historia* 6 (1957) 358–65, D. Kienast, op. cit. 82–7, J. Modrzejewski, T. Zawadzki in *Etudes J. Maqueron* 529–43, esp. 537–43. The names of its prefects are known chiefly from this type of document. For the names of some of its ships see H. D. L. Viereck, *Die römische Flotte* 259.

6–7 The months of Mecheir and Phamenoth cover 26 (27 in a leap year) January to 26 March. The season of the year is that in which the *conventus* for Middle Egypt was usually held, see G. Foti Talamanca, *Ricerche sul processo* i 77, so that these scrutinies may have taken place in connection with the administrative and judicial review of the Oxyrhynchite nome. In one case an epicrisis is explicitly connected with the *conventus*, but this was not a rule, see Foti Talamanca, op. cit. i 56–68.

7–9 In 7 the figure before the double curve which is the symbol for (ἔτους) is represented by only a ligature at about mid-line level. The possible years are those within the governorship of Subatianus Aquila, known from Oct./Nov. 206 to Jan./Feb. 211 (for references see 4–5 n. above) with a successor by 27 January 212 (see G. Bastianini, *Tyche* 1 (1986) 10 line 13 n.), i.e. years 15 to 19. Also possible is year 14 = 205/6, because although Claudius Julianus was prefect at some time in that year (P. Marmarica ix 17), we have no specific date for him. Note that this is the date range for the original scrutiny, not for this copy, cf. 16 n.

12 κολλημ(άτων) β^τ. All the parallels, where this passage is preserved, have μεθ' ἑτερα (μετ' ἄλλα SB IV 7362. 6) cελίδων n (P. Hamb. I 31, W. Chr. 459, 460, SB I 5217, IV 7362). Since κόλλημα, 'sheet glued into a roll', became in bureaucratic language the semantic equivalent of cελίς, 'column of writing', see N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* 79–83, and since ημς is clear, this reading has been adopted. The putative lambdas are rounded in a strange way which leaves some doubt remaining.

The figure is not damaged, but it is of the cursive shape which may represent either beta or kappa, which is not at all excluded.

12–13 Ὁξυρρυχέ[του. This indicates the district of origin of the person whose scrutiny was the subject of the extract. The district is the one we expect in a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus itself.

15 διαπέμψ[. This could be a promise to send the rest later, i.e. restore something like τὸ ἐξῆς μέρος ὕστερον] διαπέμψ[ομαι, but perhaps it is more likely that he sent the prescript on second thoughts, after having already sent the personal details, cf. introd. In that case we might restore something like ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμεν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς ἐπικρίσεως] διαπέμψ[ασθαι.

The usual ἐρρώσθαί c]ε εὔχομ(αι) is suitable. The trace is scanty.

16–17 The hierophant M. Aurelius Apollonius has appeared as the sender of XXXVI 2782, a letter directed to a priestess of Demeter in one Oxyrhynchite village, Nesmeimis, instructing her to proceed to another, Sincepha, and there make the customary sacrifices on behalf of the emperors and for their victory, for the rise of the Nile, the increase of the crops, and the healthy balance of the climate. Sacrifices for the victory of emperors indicate a joint reign and the Latin elements of the priest's name confirm a dating no earlier than AD 160. A document on the back, which was the recto of the roll and written before the letter, quotes official correspondence of AD 153/4. This induced me to suggest the reigns of Marcus and Verus (AD 161–9) or Marcus and Commodus (AD 176–80) as possibilities, although I headed the document 'Second/third century'.

Now we see that the priest was active at a date no earlier than January, AD 206, see 6–7 n., 7–9 n., which forces us to consider the increasing likelihood that Apollonius received the significant Latin elements of his name as a result of the universal grant of citizenship by Caracalla, the *constitutio Antoniniana*. Nomenclature in the papyri begins to show the effects of this only late in AD 214, see F. G. B. Millar, *JEA* 48 (1962) 124–31, although in Syria it may have been affected earlier, see J. F. Gilliam, *Roman Army Papers* 299–307, esp. 306 (= *Historia* 14 (1965) 84–92, esp. 91). In 7–9 n. the date-range for the scrutiny conducted by Julius Marcus is fixed as AD 206–211, but the extract is obviously later than the event and may easily

be as late as AD 214 or even much later. In fact it seems far more likely than not that the Latin names do arise from the universal grant.

Furthermore, the same applies to **2782** and therefore we must probably set that document not earlier than the next joint reign after the *constitutio Antoniniana*, that of Macrinus and Diadumenianus, beginning in AD 217. I do not suggest that there was an improbably large interval between the first and the second use of **2782**. The researches of E. G. Turner, *JEA* 40 (1954) 102–6, indicate that the second use is usually within 25 years of the first. In the case of **2782** this would imply that the recto dated from not earlier than AD 191/2 and that it quoted the correspondence of AD 153/4 at a distance of at least thirty-eight years. This is not provable, but is within the bounds of credibility.

To sum up, the probabilities are that **3920** is no earlier than AD 214 and that **2782** is no earlier than AD 217.

It should be added that the use of the *praenomen* along with the Antonine *nomen* is associated with persons of high social status in their community, see D. Hagedorn, *BASP* 16 (1979) 47–59, summarized on p. 59. The Greek priesthood confirms that this is the case here.

¹⁷ This is only the second appearance of the title *ιεροφάντης* in the papyri, see **2782**, and both items refer to the same man. The word most often relates to the cult of Demeter at Eleusis, but hierophants at other places are now known, see e.g. *I. Eph.* Ia. 10, cf. G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, No. 4, pp. 106–7; 11 τοῦ δημοτελοῦς ιεροφάντου, 23 ἰ. δευτέρω; R. K. Raslan, *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology* ii 211–213, esp. 212 nn. 5 and 6.

3921–2. ANNUAL ACCOUNT OF A GUARDIAN

100/55(a)

27.5 × 25.5 cm

25 February–26 March 219

22.5 × 31.5 cm

This account is the first example of its kind to be published, although we knew that guardians produced accounts, see R. Taubenschlag, *Law*² 168–9, cf. now SB VI 9049, a sworn undertaking by a guardian containing the words τοὺς λόγους τάξομαι καὶ καταχωρῶ (10). **3921** is a fair copy, lacking an address, of an account which was probably drawn up for submission to an official archive, while **3922** is a fragmentary draft of the same, drawn up on the back of a piece cut from a register. The back of **3921** is blank. The absence of an address and the fact that a rough draft was found with it suggest that **3921** was a private copy, even though the body of it is in the hand of a clerk, followed by one subscription in the hand of the children's guardian and a second on behalf of the mother by her guardian in his own hand.

If the interpretations argued in **3921** 8–9 n. are correct, the situation was as follows. After his death the father's will was opened in Mecheir of the second regnal year of Macrinus, 26 January–24 February 218. The guardian took charge of the finances of the two minors, both boys, from the following month, which began on 25 February 218. This account covers the next twelve months, up to 24 February 219. The boy's mother assisted or supervised the guardian in some fashion, with a title which is garbled in both places where it occurs; it looks as if the form παρακολουθήτρια was aimed at (6, 49), although it is new and the version ἐπακολουθήτρια is well known in this connection, see R. Taubenschlag, *Law*² 153–5, M. Gdz 250–1. In P. Yadin (= N. Lewis, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters*) Nos. 20 and 25 the Julia Crispina daughter of Ber(e)nicianus, who appears with the title of ἐπίσκοπος alongside a guardian, ἐπίτροπος, of orphan children, may well be their

mother acting in a capacity equivalent to that of *ἐπακολουθήτρια* in the Egyptian papyri. Her Roman names are far from being a guarantee of Roman citizenship, see **3924** 4–5 n., and therefore no obstacle to recognizing her as the widow of Jesus son of Eleazar alias Chthusion. Her autograph subscription in P. Yadin 20. 43–4 is less practised than the hand of the clerk, but her Greek is no worse.

No mention is made of the mother's means of support. In Roman Egypt one spouse did not normally inherit from the other, see H.-A. Rupprecht, *BASP* 22 (1985) 291–5. Probably separate provision would have been made for the widow by way of a dowry or a marriage settlement.

The father bequeathed to the boys a capital sum of dr. 2,056, put out at interest, a house which was rented, and a slave girl who began to earn wages as a weaver in the middle of the period of the account. The interest produced dr. 240, the rent dr. 120, and the slave's wages dr. 140: total dr. 500. The boys' maintenance, with clothing, cost dr. 380, and a further dr. 16 were expended on rent of a room in unexplained circumstances: total dr. 396. The surplus on the year was therefore dr. 104, which was added to the capital to total dr. 2,160, credited thenceforward to the guardian's account.

We do not know what difference knowledge of the widow's own resources would have made to our picture of the family's circumstances, but if this account covers all the father's estate, the family was not rich enough to belong to the curial class, see XLIV **3175** of AD 233, where the heirs of a dead councillor were still paying interest of dr. 100 per month on his unpaid fee for entry to the council. This perhaps implies an entrance fee of dr. 10,000, see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 26, and in any case makes an annual surplus of dr. 104 look insignificant. However, the possession of a house and a slave puts the family in the modest middle class. Clearly the father and the mother could not also have been maintained from the assets mentioned here. The father may have practised some trade or profession, or there may have been a separate account dealing with income from agricultural land, cf. P. Heid. IV 336 (text only: edition by B. Kraut, *ZPE* 55 (1984) 167–78), which is a report to an exegetes of Hermopolis on lands leased out on behalf of their orphaned owners and a list of goods left to their mother. We should also bear in mind the likelihood that accounts submitted to officials by private persons minimize, if not actually conceal, the extent of the assets in order to evade tax or liability to public service, cf. for the concealment of goods BGU II 388 ii 23–4, cited by Kraut l.c., p. 169.

3921 has a sheet-join c. 6 cm from the left edge and another very close to the right edge, the distance between these being c. 21 cm. The back is blank. On the back of **3922**, which was the recto of the roll and the first surface to be used, there are also two sheet-joins, one 9.75 cm from the left edge and one about 0.5 cm from the right edge; in this case the usable width of the sheet was only about 12 cm. The register on this surface was in a generous format. The biggest fragment is 31.5 cm tall, even though the top edge is lost, and there are remains of only four entries in each of the two partially preserved columns. In col. i there are remains of four sums of money well apart, evidently the totals of separate entries. In col. ii each entry begins with the

name of a tax: ἐπαρ[ου]ρί[ο]ν (?), ξυλικοῦ, σφρ(αγισμοῦ) μόσχων, ἐπιστατίας φυλ(ακιτῶν), cf. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation* 56-9; 262, 264; 246-7; 279. What followed the headings is much damaged but evidently contained sums of money and names of months.

(Read with Jairus Banaji.)

3921

col. i

- π]αρά [Α]ὐρηλίου Ἰέρακος Cαραπ[ι]ωνος
 μητ(ρὸς) Ταυσορηῶτ(ος) ἐπιτρόπου ἀφελ(ίκων)
 τέκν]ων Ἰσιδώρου Ἀχιλλᾶτο[ς] Αὐρηλ(ίων)
 Βερε]νικιανοῦ τοῦ καὶ Ἀ[γ]α[θοῦ] Δαίμο(νος)
 5 καὶ] Cαραπιάδου τοῦ καὶ Πο[ς]ειδωνίου
 κ[α]ὶ παρὰ Νεικαροῦτος `μητ(ρὸς) καὶ `π<α>ρα[κο]λουθ]ητρίας
 τῶν αὐτῶν ἀφελίκων ἀκολουθῶς
 διαθήκη τῇ καὶ λυθείσῃ τῷ διελη-
 λυτότ[ι] β (ἔτει) Μεχείρ.
 (vac.)
 10 λόγο[ς] λημμάτων καὶ ἀναλωμάτων
 τῶν ἀ]πὸ Φαμενώθ τοῦ διελθόντ(ος) α (ἔτους)
 ἕως Μ]εχείρ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος β (ἔτους)
 λ[ήμματ]ος μὲν,
 δ]ιαφ[όρο]ν ἀργυρ(ίου) δραχμῶν διςχιλίων
 15 π]εντ[ή]κοντα ἕξ, ὡς τοῦ μηνὸς
 δραχ[μ]ῶν εἴκοσι, ἀπὸ Φαμενώθ τοῦ
 διελθ(όντος) [α] (ἔτους) ἕως Μεχείρ τοῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτος) β (ἔτους)
 μην(ῶν) [ιβ] (vac.) (δρ.) ςμ
 ἐνοικίου οἰκίας ὁμοί(ως) μην(ῶν) ιβ⁻ (δρ.) ρκ
 20 μισθῶν παιδὸς γερδιαίνης ἀπὸ Θῶθ τοῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτος)
 β (ἔτους) ἕως Μεχείρ μην(ῶν) ς⁻
 τοῦ μὲν Θῶθ (δρ.) κ
 καὶ ἀπὸ Φαῶφι ἕως Μεχείρ
 μην(ῶν) ε⁻ ὡς τ(οῦ) μην(ὸς) (δρ.) κδ (δρ.) ρκ
 25 γίνο(νται) ἐ(πὶ τὸ αὐτὸ) τοῦ λήμματ(ος) (δρ.) φ.

2 μητ^τ?ταυσορηου^τ, αφη^λ 3 αυρη^λ 4 1. Βερενικιανου; δαιμο^ο 6 1. Νικαροῦτος; μη^τ
 9 βς 11 διελθον^τας 12 βς 14 αργυρς 17 διελ^θ[α]ς, ενεστ^τβς 18 μη^τ,
 L = (δραχμ-), and so throughout 19 ομο^τμη^τ 20 ενεστ^τ 21 βς, μη^τ 24 μη^τ,
 ωστ^τμη^τ 25 γιν^οε^τ, λημμα^τ

col. ii

- ἐξ ὧν ἀναλώ(ματος)
 τροφείων ἀφήλιξι τῶν ἀπὸ Φαμενώθ
 τοῦ διελθ(όντος) α (ἔτους) ἕως Μεχεῖρ τοῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτος) β (ἔτους)
 τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ Φαμενώθ ἕως Ἀθὺρ
 30 μηνῶν θ⁻ ὡς τοῦ μην(ός) (δρ.) κδ (δρ.) ciς
 καὶ τοῦ Χύακ Τῦβι μην(ῶν) β
 ὡς τ(οῦ) μην(ός) (δρ.) λβ (δρ.) ξδ
 καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μεχεῖρ (δρ.) μ
 ἱματισμοῦ τοῦ ἐνεστ(ῶτος) β (ἔτους) (δρ.) ξ
 35 ὑπὲρ ἐνοικίου τόπου ἐνός
 ἐν οἰκίᾳ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀπὸ Θῶθ
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους ἕως Μεχεῖρ^ρ μην(ῶν) ς⁻ (δρ.) ις
 γίνονται ἐ(πὶ τὸ αὐτὸ) τοῦ ἀναλώμ(ατος) (δρ.) τρς.
 (vac.)
 λοι(παὶ) λημμάτ(ων) τῶν προκειμέ(νων) προστι-
 40 θέμεναι τῷ κεφαλαίῳ ἀπὸ Φαμενώθ
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτ(ος) β (ἔτους) (δρ.) ρδ,
 ὡς εἶναι κεφαλαίου ἐ(πὶ τὸ αὐτὸ) δραχμαὶ δις χί-
 λιαὶ ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα, (γίνονται) (δρ.) Ὑβξ,
 αἱ καὶ λοιπογραφεύμεναι παρ' ἐμοὶ
 45 τῷ Ἰέρακι.
 (ἔτους) β Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
 Ἀντωνίνου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ, Φαμενώθ.
 (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Ἰέρακ Σαραπίωνος κατεχώρισα.
 (m. 3) Αὐρηλ(ία) Νεικαροῦς π' α' ρακολο^υ ὑ' θή' τ' <ρ>ί' α' συνκατεχώρισα.
 50 Αὐρήλ(ιος) Ἀμμωνιανὸς Ἀπολλωνίου ἐπιγέγραμμαι
 αὐτῆς κύριος αἰτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῆς καὶ ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ
 αὐτῆς μὴ εἰδυίης γράμματα.

26 ἀναλω⁻ 28 διελ^θας, ἐνεστ^{βς} 30 μην^ρ 31 l. τῶν Χοίακ; μην^ρ 32 ωςτ^{μην}
 34 ἐνεστ^{βς} 37 μην^ρ 38 γιν^οε), ἀναλω^μ 39 λοι^ρ λημμα^τ, προκειμ^ε 41 ἐνεστ^{ωτβς}
 42 ε) 42-3 δις χιλίαι 43 / = (γίνονται) 46 Lβ 48 l. Ἰέραξ Σαραπίωνος κατεχώρισα
 49 αὐρη^λ; l. Νικαροῦς; συνκατεχώρισα 50 αὐρη^λ

'From Aurelius Hierax son of Sarapion, mother Taysorëus, guardian of minors, the children of Isidorus son of Achilles, Aurelius Berenicianus(?) alias Agathus Daemon and Aurelius Sarapiades alias Poseidonius, and from Nicarus, mother and supervisor of the same minors, in conformity with the will which was opened in the past 2nd year, in Mecheir.'

'Account of receipts and expenses from Phamenoth of the past 1st year until Mecheir of the present 2nd year:

For receipts,

Interest on two thousand and fifty-six drachmas of silver, at twenty drachmas per month, from Phamenoth of the past 1st year until Mecheir of the present 2nd year, 12 months	dr. 240
For rent of a house likewise for 12 months	dr. 120
For wages of a slave girl as weaver from Thoth of the present 2nd year until Mecheir, 6 months:	
for Thoth	dr. 20
and from Phaophi until Mecheir, 5 months, at dr. 24 per month	dr. 120.'

'Sum total of the receipts dr. 500.'

'Out of which for expenditure:

For maintenance to the minors from Phamenoth of the past 1st year until Mecheir of the present 2nd year:	
for the 9 months from Phamenoth to Hathyr, at dr. 24 per month	dr. 216
and for the 2 months Choeac and Tybi, at dr. 32 per month	dr. 64
and for Mecheir	dr. 40
For clothing for the present 2nd year	dr. 60
In respect of rent of one room in their house from Thoth of the present year until Mecheir, 6 months	dr. 16.'

'Sum total of the expenditure dr. 396.'

'Remaining from the aforesaid receipts to be added to the capital from Phamenoth of the present 2nd year dr. 104.'

'So that as capital there are in sum two thousand one hundred and sixty drachmas; total dr. 2,160, which are being credited to me Hierax.'

'Year 2 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, Phamenoth.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Hierax son of Sarapion, placed (this account) on record.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Aurelia Nicarus supervisor, joined in placing (this account) on record.'

'I, Aurelius Ammonianus son of Apollonius, have been enrolled as her guardian at her request and I wrote on her behalf because she does not know letters.'

1 *π[α]ρά*. No address was ever written, probably because this was a private copy kept for the use of the guardian himself. There survive two receipts issued to guardians by keepers of the public records (*βιβλιοφύλακες δημοσίων λόγων*), acknowledging delivery of the accounts of guardianship. The best preserved is P. Diog (= P. Schubert, *Les archives de Marcus Lucretius Diogenes*) 19. Dr Schubert has revised BGU I 88 to show that it was a similar receipt, *ZPE* 77 (1989) 189-90, Tafel V. The former acknowledges an account for a six month period, the latter an annual account of receipts and expenditure—*λόγ(ον) λημ(μμάτων) καὶ ἀναλωμ(άτων)*, cf. 10 here. This account, then, may well have been destined for the nome capital's *βιβλιοθήκη δημοσίων λόγων*, on which see W. E. H. Cockle, *JEA* 70 (1984) 113-6, F. Burkhalter, *Chiron* 20 (1990) 191-216.

2 *Ταυκορηϋτ(ος)*. The name is new, i.e. not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. Perhaps *-εϋτ(ος)* is possible, cf. *Ταυκορεϋς* in PSI VIII 874. 6, 11, but names in *-ηοϋς* are commoner than those in *-ηεϋς*, cf. F. Dornseiff, B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wb. d. gr. Eigennamen* 299, 307.

3 τέκν]ων. Cf. VI 909 2.

4 Space and traces suit Βερε]γξικιανοῦ (l. Βερενικ-) very well, but perhaps some doubt should remain.

6 We might well expect ἐπακολουθητέρας, cf. introd. para. 2, but πρᾶ[looks right here and see 49 and n.

8 διαθήκη τῇ καὶ λυθείῃ. For the formal opening of wills cf. e.g. LIV 3758 134–55, 181–213, with 141–2 n.

8–9 διεληλυθότ[ι] β (ἔτει) Μεχείρ. Spacing and traces favour this reading; -θότ[ι] α (ἔτει) seems much less suited to the writing. In 46–7 the account is dated year 2 of Elagabalus, Phamenoth = 25 February–28 March 219. In 10–12 it is headed as an account running from Phamenoth of the past first year (Feb./Mar. 218) to Mecheir of the present second year (Jan./Feb. 219). The earliest surviving Egyptian date by Elagabalus is of year 2, Thoth 2 = 30 August 218, see D. W. Rathbone, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 107. At the date when this account began the Egyptian dating formulas would have referred to Phamenoth of year 2 of Macrinus, cf. ib. 106. It was the usual practice for clerks writing in retrospect to attribute to the current emperor the whole of the Egyptian year in which he acceded, as is done in this account from line 10 onwards. At this point it seems that cryptic reference was made to year 2 of Macrinus. Macrinus is not named, because he was regarded as a usurper, but the regnal year of Macrinus is retained, probably because the record of the opening of the will was necessarily dated by it and remained filed in the public records under it, so that no access to the official proof of the legal process was possible without the correct date by the contemporary system. Compare P. Oxy. XL p. 24 para. 4, and add P. Mert. II 85. 18–21, [οἷ]δε ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὃ τι [ἀν ζήτ]ῃς ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ. ζῆται ἀπὸ α (ἔτους) Ἀλεξάνδρου (Severus Alexander) ἕω[ς τοῦ] θ (ἔτους). If all this is correct, the account is for the first year of the guardianship, which began in Phamenoth of 218 after the will which appointed the guardian was opened in the month before, Mecheir, see introd. para. 2.

10–12 Cf. 8–9 n.

14–15 This capital sum may have derived from the sale of goods belonging to the estate, cf. LIV 3756 13–14, τῶν ἀπὸ τιμῆς τῶν διαπραθέντων ὑπαρχόντων ἀκολουθῶς τῇ αὐτῇ διαθήκῃ ὄντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀργυρίου ταλάντων ὀκτα[κ]οσίων, and P. Fam. Tebt. 50. 9–10 for the διάπρασις, which probably occurred also in SB VI 9049. 9 (with P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 50 (1982) 200 n. on lines 9–10), where read probably τὴν δι]άπρασιν rather than τῇ]ν πράσιν.

15–18 The interest is slightly below the normal drachma per mina per month, i.e. 12% per annum, which would have produced c. dr. 246.72. The sum of dr. 240 is c. 11.67% and represents the normal rate on dr. 2,000. The 12% rate is by far the commonest, but a very few exceptions both higher and lower are found, see H. E. Finckh, *Zinsrecht* 31–2. Part of the reason for the difference is the need for convenient figures, including perhaps the avoidance of fractions of the tetradrachm. Other speculations might be that the estate was an economically weak party in its dealings, or otherwise that the declaration aims at minimizing the assets.

19 This entry invites puzzled comparison with 35–7. Here the orphans receive dr. 120 as rent of a house for twelve months, there they pay out dr. 16 as rent for a room in a house of their own, τόπον ἐνὸς ἐν οἰκίᾳ αὐτῶν, cf. 3922 16 ἐν τῇ αὐτ(ῶν), for the six months that form the second half of the period of the account. One might imagine that they rented out the sole family house to get income, lived rent free for the first six months either in that house or elsewhere, perhaps with the mother's family, and then began to pay for quarters back in the same house. But these are just guesses.

20–24 Note that the slave's wages make the difference between profit and loss on this account. The slave girl was presumably part of the father's estate, since there is no entry recording her purchase. She did not begin to earn wages until six months of the period of the account had passed, whereupon she earned dr. 20 for one month and dr. 24 for each of the remaining five. Note that there are no expenses for her upkeep. We might guess that she was serving her apprenticeship as a weaver, maintained by her instructor, and then began to earn wages either from the instructor or from another employer, who maintained her. For a rising scale of wages earned by a slave textile worker, a κτενιστής, in the later stages of apprenticeship see XLI 2977 16–28. For literature on apprenticeship see lately P. Heid. IV p. 198; add to the lists O. Pearl, *BASP* 22 (1985) 255–9, also for a slave girl as weaver, but with no rising scale. Cf. I. Biežuńska-Malowist, *L'Esclavage* ii 103.

27–34 The pattern of nine months of strict economy followed by modest rises in personal expenditure is interesting, but no very definite conclusions can be drawn.

35-7 Cf. 19 n. On the rather general sense of τόπος see G. Husson, *OIKIA* 276-8.

49 Cf. 6, where the damage complicates the reading still further. Here there is no damage but extensive correction. The first version seems to have been παραλοθησας. Eta is anomalous and may have been corrected already. An alpha was added over the line between pi and rho, gamma was overwritten by kappa, and a very tiny epsilon was added above the line between omicron and theta. For the final correction we expect τρι above the line. Iota is clear and before it there is some botching. A crossbar shows that tau was intended, but the confusion around the upright does not look as if the corrector did finally succeed in writing τρ, though this is clear in 6. The word παρακολουθήτρια has not occurred before and is so garbled here that we may not be obliged to accept it, cf. Introd. para. 2, 6 n. above.

3922

See also the introduction to 3921-2 above. The largest of four detached scraps has remains of 4 lines below a space which looks like a top margin. The recto is blank, but this does not help, since the recto register is very generously spaced everywhere. Its appearance suggests that it might belong to the top of this column, but I have not succeeded in reading more than a few isolated letters or in fitting it anywhere into a text which ought to be largely similar to 3921. Three smaller scraps also unplaced have only very meagre remains. Some rather faint traces above and to the right of line 1 have not been understood or transcribed; they may be offsets.

μικθῶν παιδὸς γερδιαίνης ἀπὸ Θῶ]θ[τ]οῦ ἐν[εστ(ῶτος)] β (ἔτους)

ἕως Μεχεῖρ μη(νῶν) σ]

τοῦ μὲν Θῶ]θ[(δρ.) κ]

καὶ ἀπὸ Φαῶφι β (ἔτους) [ἕως Μεχεῖρ μη(νῶν)] ε

5 ὥς τ(οῦ) μη(νὸς) (δρ.) κδ (vac.) (δρ.) ρκ

καὶ ὁμοί(ως) ἀπὸ Θῶθ [β (ἔτους)] ἕως

Μεχεῖρ [β (ἔτους)] `μη(νῶν) σ' ἐνοικίου (δρ.) ξ, (γίνονται) (δρ.) φ
(vac.)

ἐξ ὧν ἀ[να]λώ(ματος)

τροφείων ἀφήλιξι τῶν

10 ἀπὸ Φαμενώθ α (ἔτους) ἕως

Ἀθὺρ `μη(νῶν) θ' ὥς τοῦ μη(νὸς) (δρ.) κδ (δρ.) cis

καὶ ὁμοί(ως) [[καὶ]] τοῦ Χύακ καὶ Τῦβι

μη(νῶν) δύο ὥς τ(οῦ) μη(νὸς) (δρ.) λβ (δρ.) ξδ

καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μεχεῖρ (δρ.) μ

1 βς 4 βς 5 ωστμη) 6 ομο† 6-7 βς bis. 7 μη), † = (γίνονται)

8 ἀ[να]λῶ 10 ας 11 μη) bis 12 ομο†; 1. Χοίακ 13 μη) bis, ωστ

- 15 ἱματισμοῦ β (ἔτους) (δρ.) ξ
 ἐγοικίου τόπου ἐνὸς ἐν τῇ αὐτ(ῶν) ' μη(νῶν) 5 [(γίνονται) (δρ.) τρ]
 ἀπὸ Θῶθ β (ἔτους) ἕως Μεχεῖρ (δρ.) ις, (γίνονται) (δρ.) τρς.
 (vac.)
 λοι(παί) λημ(μάτων) ' τῶν προκειμ(ένων) ' προστιθέμεναι τῷ κεφαλαίῳ ἀπὸ
 Φαμενώθ β (ἔτους)
 (δρ.) ρδ ὥς εἶναι κεφαλαίου ' ἐ(πὶ τὸ αὐτὸ) ' (δρ.) 'Βρξ,
 20 αἱ καὶ λοιπογρ(αφούμεναι) παρ' ἐμοί.

15 βς 16 αυτμη) 17 βς, } = (γίνονται) 18 λοι)λημ, προκειμ, βς 19 ε) 20 λοιπογρς

The surviving part of the draft is so close to the fair copy in **3921** that a separate translation seems superfluous. The most substantial difference is in lines 6-7, see n. below.

1-5 Cf. **3921** 20-24.

6-7 Cf. **3921** 19, where the house rent is recorded in a single entry covering the full twelve month period of the account. The entry here covers only the second half of the year, so that there must have been an earlier entry in this draft for the first six months.

7 For the total, (γίνονται) (δρ.) φ, cf. **3921** 25.

8-20 Cf. **3921** 26-44.

3923. ORDER TO SUPPLY FRUIT

28 4B.59/A(1-4)a

8.5 × 6 cm

Third century

This little chit, from the guardian of a girl who was an orphan and a minor, is an order to a fruitgrower authorizing him to supply twenty pomegranates and twenty peaches for her use. Presumably the fruitgrower was a tenant or an employee on land belonging to the girl and this document is part of the internal accounting system on her estates.

The girl's name, Heracleidiaena, is rare, with only one entry in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, and one more in D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, and so suggests a link with two other documents from Oxyrhynchus, see 1-2 n.

The oblong piece was evidently cut specially to this format. The writing, a practised but not too rapid cursive, runs across the fibres, although the back is blank.

π(αρά) Ἀπολλωνίου ἐπιτρόπου Ἡρα-
 κλειδιένης ἀφήλικος Σαραπάμ-
 μωνι πωμαρίτη Πακουλθείου.
 δὸς τῇ ἀφήλικι ῥόες εἴκοσι, [. . .]
 5 περσικὰ εἴκοσι.
 (ἔτους) β / | Ἀθὺρ γ̄.

1 π/

1-2 1. Ἡρακλειδιάνης

4 1. ῥόας

6 ∟ β / |.

'From Apollonius, guardian of Heracleidiaena, minor, to Sarapammon, fruitgrower of Pa(n?)culëeiu.'

'Deliver to the minor: pomegranates, twenty; peaches, twenty.'

'Year 2, Hathyr 3rd.'

1-2 Ἡρακλειδιένης (= -ιαίνης); cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 192-3. This name is very rare, cf. introd., so that it is worth suggesting that the girl may be the same as Heracleidiaena daughter of Heracleides, late councillor of Alexandria, who appears as a *matrona stolata* in P. Coll. Youtie II 68 of AD 266, and as an orphaned minor in XIV 1637 2, 22, which is datable to between AD 256/7 and AD 261, see P. Coll. Youtie 68. 1 n., with XLIII 3112 introd. In 1637 she is being assigned a three-eighths share in the division of an estate. Her brother is assigned an interest in half of the estate along with two other males who seem to be brothers, but sons of a different father at least. A married woman receives the remaining eighth.

If this identification is correct, the name of her guardian can be restored in 1637 4 as (Aurelius?, cf. ib. 2, 3) Apollonius.

The Heracleidiaena in P. Mert. II 71. 3 (corr. J. Bingen, *JEA* 48 (1962) 179 = BL VI 78) cannot be the same, because the document refers to regnal years 23 and 24, which cannot be later than the reign of Caracalla, and are probably as early as Antoninus Pius, as the editors suggest.

3 Πακουληείου is probably the same as Παγγουλείου, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 128-9, also spelled Παγκουληίου and Πανκουληίωι in P. Harr. I 137. 5, 24, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 111-119, for uncertainty over nasals. P. Harr. 137 actually mentions a *πωμάριον*, which is interesting, if not perhaps significant.

4 δὲ τῇ ἀφήλικι. I hesitate to translate this wording, 'Deliver for' (rather than 'to') 'the minor', although I imagine that it would better reflect the facts. I don't think that the chit was presented to the gardener by the proprietress herself.

ρόεε (= ροάε). The spelling, which is not easily explained as phonetic, suggests a form of *ροῦε*, 'sumach', though nominative rather than accusative plural. However, mention of this plant is extremely rare, see P. Cair. Zen. I 59083. 4, IV 59702. 29, and the association here with peaches seems to argue that pomegranates are meant, cf. SB I 4483. 14-15, 4485. 5-7. See M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 311-15 for fruit-growing in the papyri.

The correction, now quite faint, looks as if the writer first tried to crowd *περ* into the end of the line.

6 If the identification here is correct, see 1-2 n., and the orphan girl was a *matrona stolata* by AD 266, this date might be 30 October 261 (2 Macrianus and Quietus), and this is perhaps the most likely, if the property assigned to her in 1637, no earlier than AD 256/7, is the whole of her estate. If not, earlier possibilities are 30 October 254 (2 Valerian and Gallienus) and, possibly, 253 (2 Aemilianus), 31 October 251 (2 Gallus and Volusianus), 30 October 250 (2 Decius and Herennius), 244 (2 Philips), and 238 (2 Gordian III), and 31 October 235 (2 Maximinus). This is the earliest possible date allowing twenty-five years for the minority of a Roman citizen, the next preceding year 2 being 2 Severus Alexander, AD 222/3.

3924. SWORN UNDERTAKING OF COMPULSORY SERVICE

71/24(a) + VI 972

9.5 × 9 cm

24 August 223

The new part of this item consists of the top and fifteen lines, little damaged. It shares line 15 with VI 972, and with it gives a document of thirty lines, complete except for a very few letters lost in small holes.

The office undertaken is now specified as *ὑπηρεσία βουλῆς* (9), that is, service to the town council with the title of *ὑπηρέτης βουλευτικός*, on which see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 42. Only one other document from Oxyrhynchus refers to this office,

I 59 of AD 292, where a communication from the council to the local governor is subscribed by one. Otherwise the title appears only in CPR I 20 (= W. Chr. 402) i 12 and ii 14–15, of AD 250. In the first passage a communication from the acting president of the council of Hermopolis was delivered by a *βουλευτικὸς ὑπηρέτης* to an ex-cosmetes, who was protesting against the appointment of his son to the same office of cosmetes after too short an interval; the second passage is obscurely worded, see the commentary of Mitteis in CPR I p. 116, but it seems that the complainant had been placed under arrest or surveillance by the *ὑπηρέτης* and by a guard in the service of the president of the council (*φύλακος τῆς πρυτανείας* ii 15).

These instances confirm the general observation of the study by H. Kupiszewski and J. Modrzejewski, *JJP* 11–12 (1957–8) 141–166, esp. 161, that *ὑπηρεταί* serving various authorities acted especially as official witnesses to public procedures. Typical activities monitored by the assistants of the local governors, who are the best attested, are the notification of liability to service as a magistrate, cf. **3930** 19–20, and the examination, usually by public doctors, of persons injured by assailants, cf. **3926** 18. A well preserved undertaking by this sort of *ὑπηρέτης* is XXXVI **2764**, cf. the fragmentary **2765** and I **82**.

Of some interest are the odd Roman names, although I do not know what conclusions to draw. The principal person is Gaius Pulfernus Tiberinus son of Pulfernia Berenice alias Ammonilla. It looks as if they will be related to Polyphernus Firmus and Polyphernia Apia, who appear as former tenants or owners of land registered in AD 241, see XLVII **3365** (= P. Coll. Youtie I 65) 56, 60–61. The speciously Greek distortion of the *nomen* in **3365**, which has been checked again from the original in all three places, was presumably invented from *πολύς* and *φέρνῃ* by an ingenious and incredulous clerk, who liked Pulfernus even less than we do. Hesychius preserves for us the adjective *πολύφερνος*. The *nomen* is so far peculiar to this family and looks like a conflation of Pulfernus and Prifernus. It is not simply a mistake for the former; the spelling of the clerk of **3924**, who wrote the name in two places, is repeated in the autograph subscription; note that **3365** has a heading stating that it is a copy. The guarantor is Gaius Julius Antonius, whose *cognomen* is a distinguished Roman *nomen*, but at least this usage is paralleled elsewhere, e.g. Aurelius Antonius, *praeses Herculiae* c. AD 315–16 (PLRE I 77), and an Oxyrhynchite namesake acting as a witness to identity in AD 270 (XL **2894** ii 43). In fact, Antonius was a common personal name in Roman Egypt and it is not too surprising to see it becoming a *cognomen* in this way. These men may have had military antecedents and it may well be that there were para-military aspects to the work of *ὑπηρεταί*, but they do not often have Roman names; moreover, the system of appointment as a compulsory public service lasting one year would not be well fitted to produce a consistent type of officer in the job.

The writing runs along the fibres of what is shown to be the recto of the original roll from which the piece was cut by a sheet-join running vertically about 1.5 cm from the right edge. The back is blank.

(Read with Robert Cramer.)

- ὕ(πηρε-) βουλ()
 Αὐρηλίω Ἀμμωνίω γυμνασιάρχ(ω)
 ἐνάρχῳ πρυτάνει τῆς Ὀξυρυγχει-
 τῶν πόλεως. Γαῖος Πουλφέρ-
 5 νιος Τιβερεῖνος μητρὸς Πουλφερ-
 νίας Βερεν[ί]κης τῆς καὶ Ἀμμωνίλλης,
 εἰςδοθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς 5⁻ φυλῆς
 τρίτης περιόδου ἀμφ[ο]δογραμ-
 ματέως εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν βουλῆς,
 10 ὁμνύω τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου
 Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Καίσαρος
 τοῦ κυρίου τύχην ἐκτελέσειν
 ταύ[την] ἐνφανῆς ὦν ὑγιῶς
 15 κα[ὶ] πι]στῶς εἰς [τὸ] ἐν μ[η]δενὶ
 μεμφθῆναι [ἧ] ἔ[νο]χο[ς] εἴ[η]ν
 τῷ ὄρκῳ. π[α]ρέσχον δὲ ἑμαυ-
 τοῦ ἐγγυητὴν Γαῖον Ἰούλιον
 Ἀντώνιον παρόντα καὶ εὐδο-
 20 κοῦντα. ἔτους β⁻ Αὐτοκράτορος
 Καίσα[ρ]ος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου
 Ἀλεξάνδρου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς
 Σεβαστοῦ, Μεσορὴ ἐπαγομένων α⁻.
 (m. 2) Γαῖος Πουλφέρνης Τιβερεῖνος
 25 ὥμοσα τὸν ὄρκον καὶ ἐκτελέξω
 τὴν χρεία[ν] ὥς π[ρ]όκειται.
 (m. 3) Γαῖος Ἰούλιος Ἀντώνιος
 ἐγγυῶμαι αὐτὸν ἐκτε-
 30 λοῦ[ν]τα τὴν δηλουμένην
 χρίαν ὥς πρόκειται.

1 ὕ)βουλ
9 ὑπηρεσίαν
27 ἰουλιος[ς]

2 γυμνασιάρχ^χ
14 l. ἐμφανῆς; ὑγιῶς
28 ε corr., α corr. from ε?; l. ἐγγυῶμαι

3-4 l. Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν
18 l. ἐγγυητὴν; γαῖον ἰουλιον
30 l. χρείαν, πρόκειται

4 γαῖος

5 l. Τιβερεῖνος

7 ὑπο?

24 γαῖος; l. Τιβερεῖνος

'Assistantship to the council (?)'

'To Aurelius Ammonius, gymnasiarch, prytanis in office of the city of the Oxyrhynchites.'

'I, Gaius Pulfernius Tiberinus, mother Pulfernia Berenice alias Ammonilla, having been nominated by the district scribe of the 6th tribe of the third cycle to assistantship to the council, swear by the fortune of our lord Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar the lord to complete this, remaining in attendance soundly and reliably so as to be in no way blameworthy, or may I be liable to (the penalties for breaking) the oath. And I provided as guarantor for myself Gaius Julius Antonius, who is present and gives his consent. Year 2 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus, Mesore 1st intercalary day.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Gaius Pulfernius Tiberinus, swore the oath and I shall complete the service as aforesaid.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Gaius Julius Antonius, guarantee him to complete the stated service as aforesaid.'

1 $\nu(\pi\eta\rho\epsilon-)$ βουλ(). Expand most probably to $\nu(\pi\eta\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha)$ βουλ(ῆς), cf. 9, or another case. Also conceivable would be $\nu(\pi\eta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\varsigma)$ βουλ(ευτικός), and no doubt there are further possibilities.

2-3 For Aurelius Ammonius see I 77, XLVI 3286, for γυμνασιάρχ(ω) rather than γυμνασιάρχ(ήσαντι) see locc. citt., cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarques* 28 No. 346 (cf. 330) and perhaps 44 No. 559.

For the office of prytanis, president of the council, see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 53-67. Ammonius was president for the year AD 222/3, five days of which remained after the date of this document, see below 7-8 n.

4-5 The *tria nomina* are never an infallible indication of real Roman citizenship, see H. C. Youtie, 'Ἀπάτορες', in *Le monde grec: Hommages ... Préaux* 737-8 = *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* i 31-2. At this date, after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, virtually everyone was a Roman citizen; so no doubt was this man, but since he had no official father, he cannot have belonged even to the privileged metropolitan class in Oxyrhynchus, see P. Oxy. XL p. 5. His position as assistant to the council will have given him power and influence of a kind, but it was not a grand position. The exact significance of the Roman name remains unclear, cf. introd.

7 εἰδοθεῖς. On the terminology see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 60.

7-8 On the cycles of the tribes at Oxyrhynchus see XLIII 3095-8 and Bowman, *Town Councils* 149-53. The third cycle of the sixth tribe fell in the Egyptian year AD 223/4, which was to begin on 30 August 223, six days after the date of this undertaking. Here we see, naturally enough, the president of the council for one year receiving the undertakings of public servants appointed for the next year, and a district scribe in action appointing public servants in advance of the year for which he had been made responsible.

8-9 On the district scribe see P. Mertens, *Les services de l'état civil* 7-16. We actually know the name of this one, Aurelius Dionysius, from XLIII 3096, which refers to the same tribal cycle and describes the second year as being the past second year, so that it dates from the liturgical year in which our assistant to the council was to serve, AD 223/4, the third regnal year of Severus Alexander.

10-13 The oath formula is redundant and undoubtedly wrong, but it is not possible to give a single definitive correct version. It would be within the range of the normal imperial oath formulas of the period to have either τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος before the names, or Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου after them, but it is not normal to have both, see E. Seidl, *Der Eid* i 15-16.

18-19 For the name see introd., cf. 4-5 n.

20-23 24 August 223.

24-30 The subscription of the principal is practised and competent, as we would expect from the office he was to fill. Although that of his guarantor is laboured and sprinkled with phonetic spellings, they are of a familiar and not too shocking kind, and he is hardly to be described as a βραδέως γράφων, on which category of bad writers see H. C. Youtie, *GRBS* 12 (1971) 239-61 = *Scriptiunculae* ii 629-51.

Although subscriptions by ὑπηρέται are frequent, note XXXVI 2765 22-4 of 20 December 303 (BL VI 112), where an amanuensis subscribes on behalf of the incoming ὑπηρέτης and of his guarantor, both of whom are illiterate.

3925. NOTIFICATION OF APPOINTMENT

101/148(b)

12 × 15 cm

c. 245–6

There is no precise parallel to this document and the damage and loss of the foot are the more to be regretted since the wording may imply that a special committee was set up in Oxyrhynchus in this period to deal with municipal affairs. It is tempting to connect this committee with the administrative reforms made by Philip the Arabian, see 8–9 n., but the circumstances remain unclear. What we can read is that the president of the council wrote to an ex-gymnasiarch to give him formal notice that the council had elected him, along with the president, the syndics, and ten (other?) councillors who had already held municipal magistracies, to attend to concerns of the city.

The writing runs along the fibres. There is no sheet-join. The back is blank.

(Read with Michael A. Speidel.)

Α]ὐρήλιος Δίος ὁ καὶ Περτίναξ στρατηγὸς Ὁξύρυγχ(ίτου)
 Αὐρη[λ]ί[ω]νι Καπαπίωνι τῷ κα[ὶ] Ἀγαθ]ῷ Δαίμονι
 γυμνασιαρχήσαντι τῷ φ[ιλτάτῳ] χαίρειν.
 ἡ αὐτόθι κρατίστη βουλ[ὴ] διὰ c. 8 letters
 5 Εὐδαίμον[ο]ς ἐνάρχου πρυτάνε]ως ἐπέστει-
 λάν μοι δηλοῦντες ἡρῆ[σθα]ί σε ἐν τῷ
 συνεδρίῳ ἅμα τῷ ἐνάρχῳ πρυτάνει καὶ
 τοῖς συνδίοις καὶ ἄλλοις ἀνδράσι δέκα
 ἄρξαι βουλευταῖς τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως
 10 παραστῆναι τοῖς τῇ πόλει διαφέροντι
 ἐὺτυχ. [.] . . . [c. 15 letters].

1 στρατοξοξύρυγχ'

'Aurelius Dius alias Pertinax, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Aurelius Sarapion alias Agathus Daemon former gymnasiarch, his dearest colleague, greetings.'

'The most excellent council of this place, through ... Eudaemon, prytanis in office, wrote to me declaring that you had been chosen in the session, along with the prytanis in office and the syndics and ten other men, ex-magistrates (and) councillors of the same city, to attend to the concerns (?) of the city ...'

1 Cf. G. Bastianini, J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 99. Dius is known in office from 28 January 245 till 17 July 246. His nearest firmly dated predecessor, Aurelius Ammonius alias Apollonius, was in office on an unknown day in 242/3, although it is possible that the Chaeremon of VI 970 verso served in 244/5. The nearest successor, Aurelius Philoxenus, was in office on an unknown day in 247/8. See also 4–5 n., 8–9 n., for further considerations on the date of this document.

2–3 Aurelius Sarapion alias Agathus Daemon does not figure in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarques* and has not been located elsewhere. All the elements of his name are very common, which makes it difficult to be sure that references to him under one or other name or in a damaged state do not exist.

4-5 Statistically *Αὐρηλίου* is the most likely supplement. There is no room to add a further name unless this *nomen* was abbreviated, which is not likely, see 1, 2. Another *nomen* is possible. A Septimius Eudaemon is well known from shortly after the date of this document, but in AD 248 he was described merely as gymnasiarch and councillor (XXXVIII 2854 4-5), while his father had the title of ex-prytanis (6-7). This must raise some doubt about supplying *Σεπτιμίου* here. It looks very probable that he was acting as prytanis in P. Oxy. Hels. 25. 10 of AD 264. He is last known from LI 3612 of AD 271-5, where he is called only *κοσμητεύσας Ἀλεξανδρέων*, which was no doubt his most distinguished title, and is being notified by the prefect of Egypt of his appointment as *ἐμβολάρχης* of the nome. As a man whose career took him into the magistrature in Alexandria as well as in Oxyrhynchus he is an attractive candidate to be the prytanis here, but in that event the absence of the title of ex-prytanis in the document of AD 248 remains to be explained.

Other men are known as prytanis for AD 245/6 and 246/7, see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 131. We cannot be sure that this fact excludes those years for our Eudaemon, cf. LI 3606 introd., but AD 244/5 and 247/8 remain the likeliest years for him and this document, cf. 1 n., 8-9 n.

5-6 Note the plurals *ἐπέστειλαν*, *δηλοῦντες*, following *ἡ κρατίστη βουλή* (4), but this sense construction is not rare, see e.g. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*¹⁵ p. 111, § 134. Cf. 3926 6 n.

6-7 *ἡρῆ[εθα]ί ζε ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ*. Cf. Stud. Pal. V 7 ii 6-10 (=XX 58 ii 5-9) *ἐπεὶ ἡρέθημεν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἀκολ(ούθως) τοῖς ὑπομνημ(ατισθεῖσι) ἐπὶ τῇ[ε]κ[κ]ρατίστης βουλῆς καταπάτησιν ποιήσασθαι χωρίων ... καὶ [ἀ]ναγραφὴν φυτῶν ... [δη]λῶσαι ὑμῖν ..., ... δηλ(οῦμεν) ...* This is a report to the council of Hermopolis by its elected commissioners. A. Łukaszewicz, *Les édifices publics* 181, lists the references to *συνέδριον* and argues on p. 45 that it sometimes refers to a public building or a hall in a public building. Bowman, *Town Councils* 32 n. 35, seems to think that in Stud. Pal. V 7 it means a session of the council. Here again the meaning is not clear, but perhaps 'session' is the likeliest guess. The clearest use of the word in a similar sense in the papyri is in P. Tebt. III. 2 895. 32, where we find proceedings taking place *ἐν κοινῷ συνεδρίῳ* [ι], clearly without reference to the location.

8 *συνδίκους*. Cf. LIV 3711 3 n. for bibliography, and esp. A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 46-52. The present reference is the earliest known from Oxyrhynchus. [See now also B. Kramer, in R. Pintaudi, *Papyrologica Florentina* XIX i 305-29, esp. 310.]

The office is called a *λειτουργία* in XXIV 2407 30 (cf. Bowman 48), and ought to be a curial liturgy, but it receives no entry in N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services*, perhaps because there is as yet no direct evidence for compulsion.

8-9 If we take the wording *τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνδράσι δέκα ἄρξαι βουλευταῖς* literally, we will have to assume that the committee of the council was to consist of president, syndics, and ten ex-magistrates, together with Sarapion alias Agathus Daemon and perhaps others. However, it is wording which raises the suspicion that it is a quotation from a resolution which set up a committee of thirteen only, i.e. the president, the two syndics, and ten others qualified as councillors and ex-magistrates. In which case our man would be one of the ten.

Further, these qualification are those of the *δεκάπρωτοι* and *decemprimi* found in other parts of the Roman empire, and here should surely refer to the Egyptian *δεκάπρωτοι*, who were introduced by the reforms of Philip the Arabian, see J. D. Thomas, *ZPE* 19 (1975) 111-119, N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 21, cf. P. J. Parsons, *JRS* 57 (1967) 134-141, esp. 136-7. They appear in the papyri chiefly as collectors of taxes in the nome, often as *δεκάπρωτοι* of the toparchy. This sort of specialization may be peculiar to Egypt or it may simply be an effect of the different nature of the papyrus evidence, cf. E. G. Turner, *JEA* 22 (1936) 7-19. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 731, ii 1300-01 nn. 41, 42, suggested that this group of ten developed into the *principales* of the fourth and fifth centuries, and A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 155-8 suggested that the *principales* should be recognized in the *προπολιτευόμενοι* of the papyri.

Although the allusion seems clear, the fact that the word *δεκάπρωτοι* is not used, at least in the surviving part of 3925, suggests that this document reflects the earliest stage of their introduction. The earliest comparatively well dated reference to them is in P. Leit. 16 = SB VIII 10208, dated in Payni of AD 245, 246, or 247 by the titles of Philip Augustus and Philip Caesar. (Ed. pr. offers *Παχών* [(30)], but the plate in E. Boswinkel, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Greek Papyri, Ostraca, and Mummy Labels* No. 30, shows *Παῦν* [ι.] This favours a dating of AD 244/5 rather than 247/8, cf. 4-5 n., although all the arguments for narrowing the date within the strategate of Dius, cf. 1 n., do no more than balance probabilities.

10-11 I have translated *παρατῆναι τοῖς τῇ πόλει διαφέροισι* doubtfully by 'to attend to the concerns of the city', which makes the brief of the committee seem very broad and important, as it may be, but there

is a possibility that the text continued with something which would have limited the sense very definitely, cf. for instance the receipts in P. Strasb. 438–446 for payments in kind made *διὰ τῶν αἰρεθέντων εἰς τὸ προστῆναι τῶν τῇ βουλῇ (or τῇ νομαρχίᾳ vel sim.) διαφερόντων*.

The sense of the next word, *εὐτυχ*, [, is by no means clear. It is very unlikely to be the farewell formula *εὐτύχει*. The placing is wrong, the traces which follow suggest that we are still in the body of the text, and we expect a less high flown formula, such as *ἐρρωθεαί τε εὐχομαι*, cf. **3930** 13–14, another notification from a strategus. Sometimes *εὐτυχῶς* simply refers to the future with pious optimism, sometimes it refers to auspicious actions or words of emperors, and it might be a likely word here in either connection, but it does not seem possible to attempt to restore the sense.

3926. PETITION TO A STRATEGUS

22 3B.14/F(10–12)a + (14–16)b

9 × 30.5 cm

9 February 246

On petitions to officials in general see **3916** introd. In this case a woman petitioned the strategus because her husband and son had received sword cuts from a band of unknown robbers who invaded her house and carried off all that they found in it. She asked that a public doctor, accompanied by an assistant of the strategus to act as official witness, should examine the patients and report on their condition. Unusually, she said that the purpose of her appeal was that her menfolk should receive the necessary treatment, see 20–22 n.

The house was located in the village of This, and the document is addressed to the strategus of the Thinite nome, see 1 n. His name appeared also in XXXVIII **2853** 1 and this item is the one mentioned in the note there. A new document from Oxyrhynchus, published below as **3928**, shows him as strategus of another nome, the Heracleopolite.

Like **2853** this papyrus was reused in Oxyrhynchus. In this case there is a list of personal names on the back with headings consisting of the names of districts of Oxyrhynchus, published below as **3927**. It seems likely that the strategus was a native of Oxyrhynchus who served as strategus in the Thinite and Heracleopolite nomes according to the rule that local governors should be outsiders, see J. G. Tait, *JEA* 8 (1922) 166–173, and who brought some of his papers back to his home town.

A shred of another document with a few traces of ink still adheres to the upper left edge; this probably indicates that the petition formed part of a roll file or *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος* of items addressed to the same strategus. When it was catalogued the document was in two almost equal halves in separate folders. The break runs horizontally through line 20, about 14 cm from the top.

(Read with Paul Schubert.)

Ἰουλίῳ Ἀμμωνίῳ τῷ καὶ Εὐαγγέλῳ
 στρατηγῷ Θινίτου,
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Σενπατοῦτος Πανούρι-
 ος Τιτοῦτος ἀπὸ Θινός. περὶ ἐσπέ-
 5 ραν τῆς διελθούσης ἡμέρας πλῆθος
 κακούργων ἐπῆλθεν τῇ οἰκίᾳ μου
 ἐν κώμῃ Θινὶ καὶ ἔπληξαν
 τὸν ἄνδρα μου Τιτοῦν Κορτάτος
 σκυτέα κατὰ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ ὤμου
 10 κ]αὶ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς χειρὸς ξίφεσι
 καὶ τὸν υἱόν μου Ψεκῆν καὶ
 ἔπληξαν κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ
 ὄξα εὖρον ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἐβά-
 σταξαν, κατασχίσαντες πάσας
 15 τὰς θύρας. ἀγνοηθέντων οὖν
 μοι τῶν κακούργων ἐπιδί-
 δωμι τάδε τὰ βιβλίδια ἀξιούσα
 ἀποτάξαι σε ὑπηρέτην τὸν ἐπο-
 ψόμενον τὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς
 20 διάθεσιν πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι αὐ-
 τοὺς τῆς δεούσης θεραπείας
 τυχεῖν. (vac.)
 (ἔτους) γ' Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκο `ν'
 Ἰουλίου Φιλίππου Εὐσεβοῦς
 25 Εὐτυχοῦς καὶ Μάρκου Ἰουλίου
 Φιλίππου γενναιοτάτου
 καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος
 Σεβαστῶν, Μεχεῖρ ιε'.
 (m. 2) Αὐρηλ(ία) Σενπατοῦς Πανούρ
 30 Τιτοῦτος ἐπιδέδωκα.
 ἔγραψα ὑπ(ὲρ αὐτῆς) Αὐρήλ(ιος) Σωτήρ
 Σωτήρος μὴ ἰδυίας
 γράμματα.

(vac.)

(m. 3) ἐπεστάλη *Καραπίων* ὑ(πηρέτης).

35 ἴσον βιβλιδίου *Κενπατούτος* ἐπι-
 στέλλαιταί σοι ὅπως συνπαραλαβὼν γ'
 δημόσιον ἰατρὸν καὶ ἐπιδὼν
 τὴν περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς
 καὶ τὸν υἱὸν διάθεσιν ἐγγρά-
 40 φως προσφωνήσης.
 (ἔτους) γ] ' *Μεχ*[εῖ]ρ ιε⁻.

23 L γ' 29 *αυρη* ^λ*κενπατου*ς: ε corr. from α 31 *π* ^λ*αυρη* 32 ἰδυας: l. εἰδυίας 33 γράμματα:
 μ corr. from α 34 υ' 35-6 l. ἐπιστέλλεται 36 l. συμπααραλαβών 39-40 l. ἐγγράφως

'To Julius Ammonius alias Evangelus, strategus of the Thinite nome, from Aurelia Senpatus daughter of Panuris son of Titoes from This.'

'In the evening yesterday a gang of criminals attacked my house in the village of This and wounded my husband Titoes son of Cortas, shoemaker, in the left shoulder and in the left hand (arm?) with swords, and my son Pseces they also wounded in the head, and all that they found in the house they carried off, after breaking down all the doors. Therefore, since the criminals are unknown to me, I submit this petition requesting you to dispatch an assistant to inspect their condition so that they may be able to receive the necessary treatment.'

'Year 3 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Julius Philippus Pius Felix and Marcus Julius Philippus, most valiant and most noble Caesar, Augusti, Mecheir 15.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelia Senpatus daughter of Panur son of Titoes, have submitted (the petition). I, Aurelius Soter son of Soter, wrote on her behalf because she does not know letters.'

(3rd hand) 'Sarapion, assistant, was instructed.'

'A duplicate of a petition of Senpatus is sent to you, so that you may take with you a public doctor and inspect the condition of her husband and son and report in writing. Year 3, Mecheir 15.'

1 Cf. G. Bastianini, J. E. G. Whitehorne, *The Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt* (Pap. Flor. XV) 111, citing only this papyrus and XXXVIII 2853 1 n., where it is mentioned. The restoration of the alias as Evangelus in 2853 must depend on a reading of -λιω in this place, but the traces now seem to favour -λω, as in 3928, and Evangelus is much more usual.

4 *Θινός*, cf. 7 *Θινί*. Although this place gave its name to the Thinite nome, the Greek city of Ptolemais Hermiu was the metropolis, see XLIV 3198 1-2 and n.

6 ἐπήλθεν. Comparing ἐπληξαν in 7 and 12 and the subsequent plurals one might have expected -αν here, cf. 3925 5-6 n., but the damaged letter seems to be open to the right and much more like epsilon.

8 *Κορτᾶτος*. The name *Κορτᾶς* is not in either F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

10 *χειρός*. In medical contexts *χείρ* often means 'arm' rather than 'hand', which is ἡ ἄκρα *χείρ*, cf. LV 3816 6-7 n. Add XLIV 3195 44-5, 47 τοῦ πῆχοις (= πῆχεως) τῆς ἀριστερᾶς *χιρῶ*[ς and τ. π. τ. δεξιᾶς *χιρῶ*[ς; XLV 3245 15-16 τοῦ πῆχους [τῆς δεξιᾶς] *χιρός*. This interpretation should also be applied to L 3555 25-8, where the injuries are better understood as affecting the girl's whole arm rather than her hand: ὅλην αὐτῆς τὴν *χείρα* συντετρειφθαι (-τριφθαι) καὶ τὰ πλείστα μέρη λελωβῆσθαι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἀχανῆ εἶναι. But see D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 65 (1986) 88 for a different view of this passage.

18-20 For official assistants see 3924 introd. para. 3, cf. 3930 19-20. It is a little surprising that the assistant of the strategus is mentioned here to the exclusion of the doctor, see 36-7 and 37 n., but it is interesting because it once more emphasizes the importance attached to the official witness and his certifica-

tion of the facts, cf. D. W. Amundsen, G. B. Ferngren, *Johns Hopkins Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 52 (1978) 336–53. They argue, pp. 351–2, against this use of ‘importance’ by E. Boswinkel, *Eos* 48. 1 (1956) 181–90, esp. 182–4, pointing out with some justice that the roles of assistant and doctor are simply different. However, there is as much justice on Boswinkel’s side: to officials the legal niceties and proprieties are the things which are important.

20–22 Treatment is never mentioned in other petitions of this sort and it is only once mentioned as having been given in the doctors’ reports which result from them, see P. Oslo III 95. 16–18 *εὔρον ἐπὶ τῷ μέσῳ δακτύλῳ τραῦμα, ὃ καὶ θαραπεύω* (= *θεραπεύω*). The subject is discussed by Amundsen and Ferngren, loc. cit. 349 (see above 18–20 n.). Again it is the legal record and the legal right to future proceedings which is important. However, something similar turns up in III 475 = W. Chr. 494, where an assistant of the strategus was sent the copy of a petition and instructed to accompany a doctor to view the body of a child who had been killed by a fall from a rooftop: *ὅπως παραλαβὼν δημόσιον ἱατρὸν ἐπ[ι]θεωρήσῃ τὸ δηλούμενον νεκρὸν σῶμα καὶ παραδοὺς εἰς κηδείαν ἐγγράφως ἀποφάσεις προσφωνήσῃ* (5–9), corresponding to the end of the petition: *ὅπως τὸ ... σῶμα τύχῃ τῆς θεούσης περιστολ[ῆς] καὶ καταθέσει* (29–31). Obviously the body could not be bandaged and entombed until the cause of death was certified as accident. Could it be that in our case the victims could not be treated until they had been viewed by the officials? It is unlikely that there was a legal requirement to that effect, but there may have been a strong feeling that victims of violence needed to be seen before treatment had begun to obliterate the injuries.

29 *Πανοῦρ*. There is no sign of abbreviation. Probably this is simply the Egyptian form of the name, not furnished with a Greek ending as in 3–4 above and as is more usual, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 103.

34–41 It is quite possible that 34 is in one hand (m. 3) and that 35–40 are in another (m. 4). Too little of 41 remains to judge if it was in yet another hand. Clearly 35–40 were crowded in very close to 34, probably after 41 was written, since they begin rather small and cramped and get bigger as the writer realized that they would fit in after all. Of course 35–40 give the text of the instruction to Sarapion the assistant.

37 *δημόσιον ἱατρὸν*. See especially D. W. Amundsen and G. B. Ferngren, ‘The Forensic Role of Physicians in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt’, *Johns Hopkins Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 52 (1978) 336–353; add P. Roesch, ‘Médecins publics dans l’Égypte impériale’, *Centre Jean Palerne. Mémoires iii. Médecins et Médecine dans l’Antiquité* (ed. G. Sabbah; St Etienne, 1982) 119–29. Amundsen and Ferngren (350–1) express reserve over the view of Boswinkel, *Eos* 48. 1 (1956) 184–5, that the title *δημόσιος ἱατρός* was the result of legislation of Antoninus Pius limiting the number of teachers, rhetoricians, and doctors who might be allowed exemption from public services and perhaps also allowed a salary. An interesting parallel is the case of the *δημόσιος γραμματικός* of Oxyrhynchus who petitioned Valerian and Gallienus to help him in his quest to be granted an orchard as a means of securing his city salary, see P. Coll. Youtie II 66, where P. J. Parsons has collected the evidence for the imperial legislation on public teachers, rhetoricians, philosophers and doctors, pp. 441–6. The text is reprinted as XLVII 3366.

3927. LIST OF NAMES

22 2B.14/F(10–12)a + (14–16)b

9 × 30.5 cm

After 9 February 246

This list stands on the back of 3926, a petition to the local governor of the Thinite nome in a case of armed robbery with violence dated 9 February 246. The names of districts of the city of Oxyrhynchus are given in the list as subheadings (10, 23, 31), which show that the papyrus was reused there; see 3926 introd. para. 3 for a possible partial explanation of its migration. The names are in alphabetical order by initial letters only, as usual. Each name is given in the nominative and is followed either by a patronymic or by an alias introduced by *ὁ κ(αί)*, after which comes either one month name or two in an abbreviated form, usually *Θ(ώθ)* or *Φα(ῶφι)*; one case of *Φαῶφ(ι)*

(13) shows that Phamenoth and Pharmuthi were not intended. After this comes usually a horizontal stroke and then a figure, either $\alpha = 1$ or $\beta = 2$ in the few cases where enough survives at the right to see. In the one case where a beta survives there are two month names (8).

The format somewhat resembles LV 3786, which may be a list of recipients of the corn dole of one artaba a month, see P. Oxy. XL p. 6. A few of the persons appear in both documents, see here 38, 40, 41 nn., cf. 36, 37 nn., which must mean that they are comparatively close in date, though not necessarily very close. One of the headings here (line 31) makes it clear that the persons in 3786 31–90 all belonged to the Thoëris Street district of Oxyrhynchus. The other districts in both lists, that is, North or South Quay (3786 16), Hermaeum (3927 10), and South Street (3927 23) have comparatively few entries. There are no month names in 3786, and the horizontal strokes to the right of the persons' names have each a dot underneath to make it clear that they are the usual symbol for artaba, but here there is another feature which favours the view that 3927 is a corn dole list: it has two subheadings of 'Ρωμ(αῖοι) , see 7, 21. Romans and Alexandrians could benefit from the Oxyrhynchite corn dole, though in what circumstances exactly is not clear, cf. P. Oxy. XL p. 3. Undoubted evidence for the Oxyrhynchite dole is restricted to a short period c. AD 269–272. A delay of about twenty-five years before the reuse of a document is within the attested limits, see E. G. Turner, *JEA* 40 (1954) 102–6, so that even if this list were surely connected with the corn dole it would not be sure evidence that the dole existed at an earlier date.

Besides the column transcribed below there are some slight remains of a preceding column and perhaps remains of oblique strokes used as check marks in the left margin.

- Διονύσιος Διογυσάμ(μωνος), Φα(ὠφι) [
 Ἐπίμαχος ὁ κ(αὶ) Δημητρίδης, .() — [
 Ἰερακαπόλλω(ν) Ἀμόϊ, Θ(ὠθ) — .[
 Νεμεσίω(ν) Θώνιος, Φα(ὠφι) — α[
 5 Ὀλυμπος ὁ κ(αὶ) Ὀρίων, Φα(ὠφι) — α[
 Σύρος ὁ κ(αὶ) Τρύφων, Φα(ὠφι) — α[
 Ῥωμ(αῖοι) (vac.)
 ος Σαραπ[ά]μ(μωνος?), Θ(ὠθ), Φα(ὠφι) — β[
 Μάρκος Οὐλπιο[ς] Ἀπίω(ν), .() — .[
 10 Ἑρμαίου (vac.)
 Ἀμόϊς ὁ κ(αὶ) Χρήσιμος, Φα(ὠφι) — .[

2 οκ = ὁ κ(αὶ), and so throughout 3 ιερακαπολλω?, θ = Θ(ὠθ), and so throughout 4 νεμεσιω̄,
 φα = Φα(ὠφι), and so usually 7 ρω̄μ 8 σαραπ[α]μ̄ 10 Ἑρμαίου: αι corr.

- Ἑρμίας ὁ κ(αὶ) Φιλοδι<ό>σκορο[ς], .() — α[
 Ἡρων Σερήνου, Φαῶφ(ι) — .[
 Ἰέραξ Μέλανος, Θ(ώθ), Φα(ῶφι) [
 15 Ἰέραξ Διονυσίου, Φα(ῶφι) — [
 Πλούταρχος Διογένου<ς>, Θ(ώθ) — [
 Παᾶπις Ἀμυντιανοῦ, Φ[α(ῶφι)
 Σαραπίων Θέωνος, Θ(ώθ), Φ(αῶφι) — [
 Σαραπάμμων Θέω(νος), Φα(ῶφι) [
 20 Σερήνος Ἀμμωνίου[ς], .[
 Ῥωμ(αῖοι) (vac.)
 Ἀμύντας Σερήνου, .() — [
 Νότου Δρό(μου) (vac.)
 Γάϊος Εὐποριανοῦ, Φα(ῶφι) ἰ
 25 [Δ]ιογένης Προσαράπιος, [
 Ἡρακλείδης Ἀμμω(νίου), Φ[α(ῶφι)
 Κροπρῆς Ἀχιλλέως, Φα(ῶφι) — [
 Σαραπάμ(μων) ὁ κ(αὶ) .[.], Φ(αῶφι) — [
 Σαραπ[ιά]δης Ἀμμω(νίου), Φα(ῶφι) — α[
 30 [[Ἑρμίας ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἀρθώθης, Φα(ῶφι) — α[]]
 Δρόμου Θοήδιος (vac.)
 Ἀμόϊς Ἀντωνίου, Φα(ῶφι) — α[
 Ἀφῦγχις Ἀγαθίνου, Φ(αῶφι) — α[
 Ἀπολλω (vac.)
 35 Αἰλουῖρις ὁ κ(αὶ) Δημήτρις, [Θ(ώθ)?] — .[
 Ἀνθέστιος ὁ κ(αὶ) Ο. . . , Φα(ῶφι) — .[
 Ἀρποκρα. . . ουσερη, Θ(ώθ), Φ(αῶφι) — [
 Ἀμόϊς Ἀπο[λλ]οδιδύμου, .[
 Βησαρίων Ἀπολλω(νίου), Φα(ῶφι) [
 40 Βησαρίω[ς] υἱὸς Ἀρητίω[ς]
 (m. 2) ἁ Γελάσιος ὁ κ(αὶ) Σερήνος' [
 (m. 1) Διοσκουρίδης ὁ κ(αὶ) Σαπ. [
 Δημέας Διοσκουρια[.] — [
 Δημέας Βησαρίω(νος), Φα(ῶφι) — [
 45 Διοσκοράμμων Ο. . . (), Φ(αῶφι) — [
 Δίος Ἀνθ[ε]στίου, Φα(ῶφι) — [
 ,

- Δίδυμ[ος] Θέω(νος?), Φα(ῶφι) — .[
Διονύσιος Θέω(νος?), Φα(ῶφι) —[
Δίδυμος Ζεμ. . ω, — .[
50 Διογένης Ἀμμ[ων]ίου, Φ(αῶφι) — .[
Διονύσι[ο]ς Διοσκ[ό]ρου, Θ(ῶθ) —[
Εὐδαίμω(ν) Ὀφελί[ο]ν, Φα(ῶφι) —[
Εὐδαί[μω(ν)] Ἀνικήτο[ν], Φ[α(ῶφι)]
Ἑρακλε[ίδ]ης Θέω[(νος)], Θ(ῶθ), Φα(ῶφι)[
55 α̣ λ̣ ν̣ . [.] . [.]
. . . [

18 φ = Φ(αῶφι), usually φα	19 θεω	21 ρ ^μ ω	23 δρῶ: ρ corr.?	24 γαιῶς
26 αμμῶ	28 αραπαῦ	29 αμμῶ?	31 1. Δρόμου Θοήριδος	33, 37, 45, 50 φ = Φ(αῶφι),
usually φα	39 απολλῶ	44 βησαριῶ	47, 48 θεω?	

1 Διονυδάμ(μωνος). No sign of abbreviation survives; probably a horizontal is lost above mu, cf. 28. Note that there is no heading; the list is continued from the previous column.

2 Δημήτρης, cf. 35. On this declension see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 25–6.

3 Ἀμόϊ. On these short genitives see Gignac, op. cit. ii 57–61.

8 The heading in 7 might lead us to expect Roman nomenclature, as in 9, but see 21–2, where the ‘Roman’ is called Amyntas son of Serenus. However, I assume that these persons were Romans in some sense more important than that they or their ancestors had benefited from Caracalla’s universal grant.

Since the letter before oc does not look like the iota expected in most *nomina*, it looks likely that *Αραπα[ά]μ(μωνος)* should be read and taken as a patronymic. Whatever stood before that seems to have been written over *ευρος*, accidentally repeated from 6.

10 Ἑρμαίου. Cf. H. Rink, *Strassen- und Viertelnamen* 33–4.

16 Διογένου<ς>. Cf. Gignac, op. cit. ii 69–70.

19 There seems to be no sign of abbreviation for θεω = Θέω(νος).

22 Cf. 8 n.

23 Cf. Rink, op. cit. 29.

25 Προσάραπιος. This is not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. Understand perhaps Π<ετ>οσάραπιος.

31 Cf. Rink, op. cit. 30. Here it looks as if *θοήδος* was written at first and iota added, since the long iota cuts through the left half of the omicron. Delta is sometimes written for rho without any obvious phonetic cause, see Gignac, op. cit. i 110. This may point to *Θοήριος* as the form intended, but *Θοήριδος* is regular in the district name, cf. G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon* iii 493–7. See J. Quaegebeur, W. Clarysse, B. van Maele, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 225–230 on Thoëris at Oxyrhynchus.

34 This entry was left unfinished. The last letter may have been omicron rather than omega.

35 For the declension of both names cf. 2 n.

36 This looks like the same man as Anthestius alias Valerius in **3786** 33. Perhaps οὐα̣^λ was written here, i.e. read Οὐα[λ(έριος)].

37 There may once have been a mark of abbreviation, i.e. *ζερεῖ* for *Ζερέ(νου)*, in which case *αρποκρατίου* was written in error for *Ἀρποκρατίων*, and this will have been the Harpocraton son of Serenus of **3786** 34.

38 Cf. **3786** 40.

40 Cf. **3786** 51, *Βησαρίων Ἀρητίωνος*. This is the only appearance of *νίος* in this list, nor does it appear in **3786**. No distinction seems intended between this entry and all the others without it.

41 Cf. **3786** 53. The alpha in the left margin was added in the same lighter ink and second hand as the name, which is an interlinear addition. It probably represents the figure 1, to be added to the total of men or measures of grain in 55.

43 No known masculine names suit *Διοσκουρία*[. .]. Even if it is feminine, which is not likely, there is not room for *Διοσκουριάδος* or *Διοσκουριάνης*. Perhaps this is a mistake of the writer, cf. 37.

45 Perhaps read *Ὀυαλ(ερίου)*, cf. 36. Here there is a trace above the line which could suit *ουαλ*^λ.

49 *Ζεμπρω(νίου)* is possible, although no mark of abbreviation seems to have been written. The month was omitted.

55 This looks like a calculation in figures, though α⁻ might stand for α⁻(νδρες), but lambda = 30 seems not to fit so well as nu = 50. There are forty-seven or forty-eight names. Several of them will have been credited with two units rather than one, e.g. 8, cf. 14, 18, 37, 54, so that the total of units, if they are artabas rather than α⁻(νδρες), could have been in the fifties. The previous column in this theory would have had its own total.

3928. FRAGMENT ADDRESSED TO A STRATEGUS

32 4B.4/G(1-5)c

9 × 6 cm

c. 245?

This scrap of a document, which breaks off before we can discover its nature, is addressed to the same person as **3926**. Its chief interest is that Julius Ammonius alias Evangelus is here described as strategus of the Heracleopolite nome, not of the Thinite. His name is distinctive enough for us to put him in the fairly short list of men who probably had careers which took them as local governors to more than one district of Egypt, see J. E. G. Whitehorne, *ZPE* 47 (1982) 262-3; for one addition to the list see id., in W. Haase, H. Temporini, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 10. 1, p. 601 n. 15. We cannot yet say which district he may have governed first, or, to put it another way, whether **3928** dates from before or after **3926**. It now becomes uncertain which district is concerned in XXXVIII **2853**, where its name is not given. A slender argument is that the inventory number of **2853**, 23 3B.13/C(1-3)a, not recorded in the edition, links it with **3926** and therefore possibly with the Thinite nome as originally supposed rather than with the Heracleopolite. The element 3B indicates that both of those were excavated during Grenfell's and Hunt's third season at Oxyrhynchus/Behnesa, while 4B here denotes the fourth season.

The item number ρζ (= 107), written in the top margin in a large and careless hand different from the good rounded cursive of the main text, indicates that this too was once part of a roll file, cf. **3926** introd. para. 4.

The writing runs along the fibres. There are no sheet-joins. The back is blank.

(m. 2) ρζ

(m. 1) Ἰο]υλίῳ Ἀμμωνίῳ τῷ καὶ Εὐαγγέλῳ
] στρατηγῷ Ἡρακλεοπολίτου
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Σεφθομόϊτος Δαμᾶ μη-
 5 τ]ρὸς Ἀταρίας ἀπὸ κώμης Ποιμέ-
 νων] . [c. 10 letters] . . [c. 5

4 ν corr. from c

'To Julius Ammonius alias Evangelus, strategus of the Heracleopolite nome, from Aurelius Septhomois son of Damas, mother Ataria, from the village of Poemenon ...'

2 Cf. **3926** 1 n.

3 Cf. above introd. and **3926** introd. para. 3.

4 Septhomois is unfamiliar and may be characteristically Heracleopolite.

5 *Ἀταρία* is not attested as a woman's name, although *Ἀτάρης* and *Ἀτάρης(ο)ν* are. *Ἀταρίας* is well known as a man's name.

5-6 For this village see A. Calderini, S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* iv 169, s.v. *Ποιμένων κώμη* 2.

3929. CERTIFICATE OF SACRIFICE

101/196(b)

7.5 × 12 cm

25 June-24 July 250

This document belongs to the category of certificates of sacrifice issued to those who satisfied the pagan commissioners during the Decian persecution of Christians, see G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, Vol. 2 (1982; items of 1977) No. 105, pp. 180-5, cf. M. Sordi in W. Haase, H. Temporini, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 23. 1, pp. 359-64.

It is the fourth example from Oxyrhynchus, cf. IV **658**, XII **1464**, XLI **2990**. The first two were issued to inhabitants of the city itself, the third is too damaged to reveal the recipient's origin, this one went to a villager from the south of the nome. It is the forty-sixth of its type from Egypt, which is the only province from which they have survived. It is worth comparing this number with that of the published census returns, recently estimated at about two hundred and seventy, see **3918** introd. Certificates of sacrifice were required only in AD 250; the census took place in Egypt at intervals of fourteen years from at least AD 5/6 (P. Med. I 3) till AD 257/8. It may be a doubtful deduction from the statistics, but the comparatively large number of certificates seems to support the view that the head of every household was required to apply for one on a system very like that of the census returns, cf. G. W. Clarke, *Antichthon* 3 (1969) 68-73, id., *The Letters of St. Cyprian of Carthage*, Vol. i pp. 21-39. The endorsement on this document calls it an *ἀπογγ(αφή)*, which again suggests an analogy with the census, the *κατ'οικίαν ἀπογραφή*, see 22 n.

The papyrus is broken at the foot. There survive the address to the village commissioners from a male applicant (1-5), the usual profession of constant religious conformity (5-7), the request that the commissioners should subscribe the application confirming that they had seen the applicant, together in this case with his mother and sister, sacrificing, pouring libations and tasting the sacrificial meats (7-14), the date clause (14-18), and part of the subscription of an amanuensis for the illiterate applicant (19-21). The certification of the commissioners is lost at the foot.

A sheet-join running vertically about 2.5 cm from the left margin shows that the text is written along the fibres of the recto of the roll from which the piece of papyrus was cut. An endorsement in one line runs downwards along the fibres of the back.

τοῖς ἀναδοθείς ἐπὶ θυσιῶ(ν)
 κώμης Θώσβεως
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀμοῖτος χρη(ματίζοντος) μη-
 τρὸς Τααμοῖτος ἀπὸ κώμης
 5 Θώσβεως. αἰὲ μὲν θύων
 καὶ σπένδων τοῖς θεοῖς διε-
 τέλουν, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐνώ-
 πιον ὑμῶν κατὰ τὰ κελευσθ(έντα)
 ἔθυσα καὶ ἔσπισα καὶ τῶν ἱερί-
 10 ων ἐγευσάμην ἅμα τῇ μη-
 τρί μου Τααμοῖτι καὶ τῇ
 ἀδελφῇ μου Τααρπαήσιος,
 αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀξιῶ ὑποσημι-
 ώσασθαί μοι. (ἔτους) α'
 15 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Γαίου Μεσσίας Κυῖντου
 Τραϊανοῦ Δεκίου Εὐσεβοῦ[ς
 Εὐ]τυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ, Ἐπεῖφ . [
 (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Ἀμοῖς
 20 ἐπιδέδωκα. Αὐρήλιος
 [. . .]. ἰων ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) ἀπογρ(αφή) Ἀμοῖτᾶ μητ(ρὸς) Τααμοῖτ(ος).

1 *ς* rewritten; *θυσιῶ*⁻ 3 *χρη*⁻ 7 l. *ἐπεῖ* 8 *κελευσθ*? 9 l. *ἔσπισα*
 9-10 l. *ἱερείων* 12 l. *Τααρπαήσει* 13-14 l. *ὑποσημιώσασθαι* 14 *Λ α'* 17 *τραϊανου*
 21 *ὑπερ* 22 *απογρῶμοιταμητταμοιτ*

'To the commissioners of sacrifices of the village of Thosbis, from Aurelius Amois officially known as the son of his mother Taamois from the village of Thosbis.'

'I have continued always to sacrifice and pour libations to the gods, and since now too in your presence in accordance with the orders I sacrificed and poured a libation and tasted the sacrificial meats along with my mother Taamois and my sister Taharphaesis, I request that (you) subscribe to this fact for me. Year 1 of Emperor Caesar Gaius Messius Quintus Traianus Decius, Pius Felix Augustus, Epeiph ...'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Amois, have submitted (the application). I, Aurelius ...ion, wrote on his behalf ...'

Back. 'Registration of Amoitās, mother Taamoīs.'

1 ἀναδοθεῖς. Cf. N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 58. Lewis points out that ἀναδίδωμι is used only in connection with village liturgies. Note that IV 658 is addressed to τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν [καὶ (?)] θυσίων πόλ[εως, apparently without a participle, while XII 1464 is addressed to τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν θυσίων αἵρεθείς τῆς [Ο]ξύρυγγειτῶν πόλεως. The verb αἵρεομαι is characteristic of curial liturgies, see Lewis, *ibid.* At first ἀναδίδωμι applied to nomination, but by the early second century had come to include appointment.

2 Θῶςβεως. See P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 63. It was in the Upper, i.e. southernmost, toparchy.

6-7 διετέλουν, ἐπὶ (= ἐπεὶ) δέ. The same wording and punctuation should probably be restored in IV 658 8, where ed. pr. has [δ]ιετέλ[εα εἰ]τι δέ; in consequence the full stop before ἀξιῶ (658 16) will need to be changed to a comma. The whole of the body of the petition is comprised in one sentence. (I also considered improving the grammar of 1464 by reading ἀξιῶ ὑμᾶς in place of κ[α]ὶ |¹¹ [ἀξι]ῶ, but a photograph shows that the remains, scanty though they are, support the reading of the first edition.)

12 It looks as if the genitive was written by mistake for the dative. That could be adequately represented by Τααρπαῆς<ε>ι, but there are definitely remains after that and they are definitely unsuitable for καί.

13 After ἀξιῶ 658 16 has ὑμᾶς, but 1464 10-11 seems to be like 3829 and to omit it, having κ[α]ὶ [ἀξι]ῶ ὑποσημιώσασθαι μοι, see above 6-7 n.

18 The low trace at the end of the line is not distinctive. The dates of well preserved examples all fall in Payni or Epeiph.

21 A possible reading might be Ἡρακ[λεῖ]δίων, but this has not led to an identification and remains very doubtful. It is clear that this man acted as amanuensis for the illiterate Amois: restore for example ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ [αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότος γράμματα. On such amanuenses see H. C. Youtie, 'ὑπογραφεύς', *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* i 179-199 (= *ZPE* 17 (1975) 201-221); on illiteracy id. 'ἀγράμματος', *Scriptiunculae* ii 611-627 (= *HSCP* 75 (1971) 161-176), 'βραδέως γράφων', *ibid.*, 629-651 (= *GRBS* 12 (1971) 239-261).

22 ἀπογρ(αφή). This may be the Greek technical term equivalent to St. Cyprian's *libellus*, which in Greek is usually βιβλίδιον or βιβλίδια. Both *libellus* and βιβλίδιον commonly mean 'petition', so it is easy to see why *libellus* would apply to the form of these certificates, which are petitions or applications to which the official certification has been added. Yet from another point of view the copies retained in official files would constitute an archive of registrations. It is interesting to find it actually called an ἀπογραφή, as the term κατ'οίκίαν ἀπογραφή is applied to the census in general as well as to the individual returns. M. Sordi (*ANRW* II 23, 1 p. 363) refers to 'il gigantesco censimento religioso che Decio aveva concepito'. Note that W. Chr. 125 has an item number at the top showing that it was part of a series of such declarations from the Arsinoite metropolis. Wilcken, *Archiv* 5 (1909-13) 280, confidently read the remains as υλγ = 433: 'Ich kann das, was ich auf der Photographie sehe, nicht anders deuten als υλγ = 433. Die hohe Zahl ist nicht erstaunlich, da der Text aus der Hauptstadt Arsinoë stammt, sie ist aber für das oben berührte Gesamtproblem doch von Interesse. 433 solcher Eingaben nebeneinandergestellt (à 8 cm) würden eine Rolle von ungefähr 3½ m. ergeben, wogegen nichts einzuwenden ist'. Dr Coles pointed out to me that this roll would have been 34.64 metres long! Literary rolls were usually in the range of seven to ten metres long (W. Schubart, *Das Buch* 2 52), but we know that documentary rolls could reach great sizes. According to N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* 55 n. 29, the longest extant roll, now in the British Library, measures about 132 feet or about 40 metres. XLIV 3205 5 (= *JJP* 16-17 (1971) 39) seems to refer to a record ἐν τόμ[ω] ἐνὶ κολ(λημάτων) υλζ, 'in one roll of 437 items (or columns)'. This passage is reported by Lewis, *op. cit.* 81 n. 20, without the possibly crucial sublinear dot, but a new inspection of the papyrus left me with the impression that the reading is likely to be correct. Even so, the photograph of W. Chr. 125 in *BSAA* 9 (1907) 88 shows that the number is extremely doubtful, although it seems fairly certain that it had three digits.

To sum up, the new title of ἀπογρ(αφή), taken together with the evidence for the registration of these certificates in official archives and with the number of the surviving examples, see above introd., implies that the requirement to sacrifice in the presence of the commissioners was universal.

Ἀμοῖτᾶ (gen. of -τᾶς), cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 16-17, is evidently the same person as Ἀμοῖς (3, 19). These variations are fairly common, see e.g. P. Mich. VIII 490. 1 n., citing especially P. Princ. II 65. 1, 18 (Διονυτᾶς = Διονύσιος) and P. Oslo II 47. 1, 20 (Θεωνᾶς = Θέων).

3930. NOTICE TO SERVE AS *EXEGETES*

101/201 (a)

9.5 × 23.5 cm

1 April 290

Documents similar to this are XLIV **3182** (gymnasiarch, AD 257), XLVI **3293** (cosmetes, c. AD 262–5), VI **891** (exegetes, AD 294), XLVI **3297** (cosmetes, AD 294?), and P. Ant. I 31 (cosmetes, AD 347). Perhaps its most interesting feature is that the notice was directed not to a single person, but to a group, the heirs of an exegetes called Heracleides son of Sarapion. It would be interesting to know how the details of the actual service were arranged, but this situation no doubt reflects the fact that financial support for the office was the essential requirement, cf. 3–4 n. For the office of exegetes in general see F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* 325–332.

The sender of the notice to serve was once more the local governor, rather than the council or its president. Again in this case the element of abnormality may account for his intervention, cf. **3293** introd.

Lines 8–9 confirm the existence of the technical phrase ἄρχειν τὸν τῆς (ἀρχῆς) στέφανον, ‘to hold the office and crown of the (magistracy)’, which makes ἄ]ρχειν τὸν τῆς κοσμητείας [στέ]φανον certain in **3297** 6–7.

There is a sheet-join running vertically very close to the left edge, showing that the writing runs along the fibres of the recto of the original roll. The right sheet overlaps the left, which means that it was used ‘upside down’, in the sense that if the roll had been used for a Greek text in many columns, it would have been placed the other way up so that the joins overlapped from left to right, cf. E. G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso* (Pap. Brux. 16) 19–20. The back is blank.

(Read with Anne Kolb.)

Αὐρήλιος Ἀπολλώνιος γενόμενος
 ὑπομ(νηματογράφος) στρ(ατηγός) Ὁξυρυγχίτου
 κληρονόμοις Ἡρακλείδου Σαραπίω-
 νο]ς ἐξηγητοῦ τοῖς φιλ(τάτοις) χαίρειν.
 5 ἡ κρατίστη βουλή διὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀσκλη-
 πιάδου γενο(μένου) ὑπομ(νηματογράφου) ἐνάρχου πρυ[τά-
 νεως δι' ὧν μοι ἐπέστειλεν
 ἐδήλωσεν δεῖν ὑμᾶς ἄρχειν τ[ὸν
 τῆς ἐξηγητείας στέφανον ἀπὸ . [
 10 ἕως ιζ' τοῦ ὄντος μηνὸς Φαρμοῦθι.
 ἵν' οὖν εἰδῇται καὶ τῶν τῇ ἀρχῇ
 διαφερόντων πρόνοιαν ποιήσης-
 σθε, ἐπιστέλλε[ται ὑ]μῖν. (m. 2) ἐρρωσθαι
 [ὑμᾶς εὖ]χ[ο]μαι, φίλτατοι.

(vac.)

(m. 1?) 15 (ἔτους) 5 τ[οῦ κυρίου] ἡ[μ]ῶν
 Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ ἐς' .
 τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Μαξιμιανοῦ
 Σεβαστῶν, Φαρμούθι 5⁻.

(m. 3) .[.....] λης ὑπηρέτης
 20 ἐπήνεγκα. (ἔτους) 5 καὶ ἐς' ,
 Φαρμούθι 5' .

1 γενομῶ 2 υπομῶ στρῶ 4 φι^λ 6 γενο) υπομῶ 8 ὑμας 11 1. εἰδῆτε
 15 ἄς 20 ἄς 21 5 corr. from ε

'Aurelius Apollonius, former hypomnematographus, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to the heirs of Heracleides son of Sarapion, exegetes, his dearest colleagues, greetings.'

'The most excellent council, through Aurelius Asclepiades, former hypomnematographus, prytanis in office, in the letter which it sent me declared it necessary that you should hold the office and crown of exegetes from the *n*th to the 17th of the present month of Pharmuthi. Therefore for your information and so that you may make provision for the matters which concern the magistracy, this notice is being sent to you.'

(2nd hand) 'I pray for your health, dearest colleagues.'

(1st hand) 'Year 6 of our lord Diocletian and year 5 of our lord Maximian, the Augusti, Pharmuthi 6th.'

(3rd hand) 'I, (Aurelius?) ...les, assistant, delivered (this notice). Year 6 and 5, Pharmuthi 6th.'

1 Cf. G. Bastianini, J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* (Pap. Flor. XV) 102–3. Now that we see Aurelius Apollonius in office on 1 April 290 (lines 15–18), there is even more likelihood that he was the strategus whose name is lost in PSI V 461. 1, since that document contains an account for the month of Phamenoth which must have been compiled soon after 26 March 290. In P. Laur. IV 157. 16 there is a mention of an unnamed strategus who might possibly be the same since the year is the same.

1–2 γενόμ(ένος) ὑπομ(νηματογράφος). Cf. 6. See J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Aegyptus* 67 (1987) 101–125, esp. 106, 119.

3–4 An exegetes called Aurelius Heracleides is known from X 1252 16, 21, 44–5 of 15 September 289. Although the name is so common, he could well be the same.

Interesting in this connection, though not strictly parallel, is P. Harr. II 227, a contract of AD 221, by which three brothers agreed to hold their father's property in common (μέν<ε>ν πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτ[οῖ]ς πατρικὰ ἐν μέσῳ, line 13) and out of its income pay the expenses of a magistracy to which one of them had already been appointed. Similarly here the heirs to a particular estate are nominated to office as a group to ensure that the expenses are covered, without regard, at least in this document, to the question of which person performs which duties.

5–7 In Pharmuthi of the previous Egyptian year, March–April, AD 289, the president of the council was the ἀξιολογώτατος Aurelius Asclepiades son of Achillion, former hypomnematographus, gymnasiarch, councillor, (XXVII 2477 2–3; see *JEA* 49 (1963) 181 for the correction of the date; cf. XLIV 3184 4–5, where the person called Asclepiades alias Achillion seems to be the same man as Asclepiades son of Achillion in 2477). It looks as if this may be another case of the same man serving as prytanis in successive years in spite of a general practice of annual service on any one occasion, see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 63, cf. LI 3606 introd. We know that Asclepiades alias Achillion did serve a second term before October/November 296, since he is called δις πρυτανεύσαντι in 3184 5.

There was a former hypomnematographus called Aurelius Asclepiades, who served as a deputy strategus on 11 February 292 (I 59) and as an acting strategus sometime in AD 292/3 (XXXIV 2712), cf. G. Bastianini, J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 103. It may be that all these documents illustrate the career of one man, although it might be argued that the use of the alias or patronymic of Achillion was intended to distinguish one from others. Asclepiades itself is a fairly common name.

8-9 ἀρχεῖν τ[ὸν] . . . στέφανον. Cf. introd. para. 3. A fee, the *στεπτικόν*, was payable in respect of the crown of this magistracy, see XLIV 3177.

9 The trace at the end is tiny, so that the day cannot be recovered. As a rule very little time intervenes between the date of the notice and the date of commencement of office. In 3182, for example, the interval is two days, in P. Ant. 31 the notice is dated one day before, in 3293 on the same day.

9-10 The sharing of what was originally an annual office is well known in this period, see Bowman, *Town Councils* 109-113; on sharing the eutheniarchy see E. G. Turner, *HSCP* 79 (1975) 24. In X 1252 two exegetae are named and we can compare XII 1413 of AD 270-5, where a group of exegetae take part in a council debate. The cause was financial; a few years later than this document, in AD 294, when a person was appointed to do the public duties of the office for a short period, the council resolved that the expenses should come from the resources of the whole board, see VI 891 12-15.

19-20 On the office of assistant to the strategus see 3924 introd. para. 3, cf. 3926 18-20.

3931. MAGIC

47 5B.33/K(1-4)c

20 × 9.5 cm

Third/fourth century

The best preserved section of this text (col. i 1-13) seems to be the beginning of a spell to make a person invisible, ἀμαυρωτικὸν ἄνθρωπον ποιῆσαι (1-2). The adjective is new. The structure of the spell is not clear, see notes, but for the moment I take it that lines 2-13 are all part of a threatening invocation of a powerful spirit who is to make the magician invisible. In column ii, which is damaged and broken to the right, we find a series of magic words, marked out by the usual overlining (ii 14-17), the remains of a recipe in six lines (17-22), and then more magic words (22-25). The overlining seems to stop in the middle of line 25, but that line and the next, which is the last to survive, are so badly damaged that nothing has been read.

On the back are four or five clumsy drawings of strange beasts, one of which seems to be mummified in bandages, and upside down to these and to the text on the front are two damaged lines of magic instruction in a script larger and clumsier than the one on the front. The hand on the front is a very competent cursive of the fourth, or possibly the late third, century and the other is likely to be contemporary. It could be by the same writer, unused to writing more slowly and on a larger scale.

The piece of papyrus is broken at each side. To the left of the writing on the front, although the edge is broken, there is a wide margin of c. 7 cm over most of which the fibres run perpendicularly. The writing stands to the right of a sheet-join and runs along horizontal fibres. The vertical fibres are presumably part of the first protective sheet of the roll, the *protocollon*, which was usually attached in this fashion, see E. G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso* (Pap. Brux. 16) 20-21. On the back there is a similar contrast of fibre directions: the two lines of writing begin along one set of fibres belonging to the *protocollon* and then run across not one but two more sets of vertical fibres, because here there is the complication of a strengthening strip added over the original join. From this side the edge above the writing, although more damaged, looks like the top, although the opposite edge looks like the top from the

front. I guess that the magic was written on an oblong of blank scrap papyrus cut from a used roll which happened to have a first column short enough to leave a margin, whether at the top or at the bottom, of nearly 10 cm. If this is so, very little text will have separated the surviving foot of col. i from the top of col. ii, and the recipe in col. ii will relate to the invocation in col. i; if it is not so, a large amount of text, in the range of ten to twenty lines perhaps, may separate lines i 13 and ii 14, and the recipe may be quite unrelated to the invocation.

(Read with Tim Bateson.)

i	ii
ἁμαυρωτικὸν ἄνθρω- πον ποιῆσαι. ἑπικαλοῦ- μαι τὸ διήκον πνεῦμα ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανόν, θεῶν 5 πνευμάτων θεὸν παν- τοκράτορα. ἄσσεσουῶ. ἁμαύ' ῥω' σον πᾶν τὰ ὀφθαλμ[ό]ν ἀνθρώπου ἢ γυναικός. ἐπιπορεύομαι ἄχρι οὗ ποι- 10 ῆσω [ὅ]σα θέλω, καὶ λέγω, .ωρεῖθ, ἄκουσόν μοι ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου. ἀλκμε. θαλας- 25 ς[οκ]ρά[τ]ωρ, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς νυκτός	] (v.) <u>εἰς</u> [.....] <u>γῆς</u> [...]. <u>ρ</u> (vv.) <u>κοῦ</u> [...]. <u>ωρ</u> (vv.) λε... [..] (v.) εἰς ἔλεον χ. [μετὰ κο. ρ. . [20 διλοῦ καὶ μα. [λειων ὀλίγων [τὴν ὄψιν. <u>ἀερ</u>. . [<u>ατερβιακα</u>. [. . .] [<u>σεεενση</u> (v.) [25 <u>αὔτ</u>. . . . [..... [.

Back. (m. 2?)

] [. . .] . . λαβὼν φύλλον καλπάσσον. [
α. ν. ωι κατόρυξον παρα. . . . [
(drawings)

18 l. ἔλαιον

27 l. καρπάσου

Lines 1–13. ‘To make a person invisible. I call upon the spirit that pervades from earth to heaven, almighty god of the spirit gods(?). *Assesouo*. Dim every eye of man or woman. I shall press hard until I do all that I want, and I say (to you?), *Choreith* (?), listen to me, (you?) who are in charge of the universe. *Alcme*. Ruler of the sea, you who are in charge of the night ...’

Lines 27–8. ‘... take a leaf of flax (white hellebore?) ... (and) bury it with (?) ...’

1 ἁμαυρωτικόν. The adjective is new. On the suffix -τικός see L. R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* 37–9.

It seems to mean simply 'invisible', to judge from the use of the cognates in the magical papyri, i.e. K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* i I 102 ἀμαυροῖ, ἵνα μηδεὶς [κ]αθόλου σε θεωρήσῃ, '(a spirit which) makes (you) invisible, so that none at all can see you'; I 247 ἀμαύρωσις δοκίμη, 'a tried spell for invisibility'; ii XIII 234 ἀμαυρά. ... τοῦτο φορῶν ἀθεώρητος ἔσῃ, 'a charm for invisibility. ... if you carry this, you will be unseen'. Contrast ii P. 10. 39 (p. 219) πνεύματα ... ἀμαυρίαν ποιοῦντα, '(a charm against) spirits ... which cause blindness'; this translation is recommended by the other things which the spirits cause—bad dreams, fright, madness, and thefts.

3 Cf. PGM i IV 1117–8 χαίρε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ διήκον ἀπὸ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ γῆν. The spirit may be Aion, see H. D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* 60 n.159; cf. A. Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste* iv 185–6.

4–5 θεῶν πνευμάτων θεὸν παντοκράτορα. Cf. P. Warren 21. 24–6 ἐλθέ μοι ὁ τῶν θεῶν θεός, ..., ὁ κύριος τῶν πνευμάτων.

6 ἀρεσσονῶ. Magic words are overlined, cf. introd. This and most others here find no place in the indexes to PGM, see *ibid.* Register VIII–XV.

7 It is curious that the magician's invisibility is to be produced as much by affecting the sight of others as by altering himself.

9 The meaning of ἐπιπορεύομαι is obscure. I take it as a threat against the god or spirit he was invoking, 'I shall press (you) hard until I can do all that I want to do', rather than as an expression of his wish to do whatever he wants in the shelter of invisibility.

10 Again I take it that λέγω is emphasizing the magician's power over the spirit, 'I say (to you), ... listen ...'.

11 ὠρεῖθ. Cf. below 11–13 n. on ἀλκμε. The first letter is likely to be chi or lambda.

ἀκουσόν μοι. The dative after ἀκούω may be another indication that the tone is threatening, 'hear and obey', with the construction of πείθομαι or ὑπακούω.

11–13 We expect rather <ὁ> ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου, cf. 13 ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς νυκτός and PGM i IV 1695 ὁ ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον (which Preisendanz turns into the genitive) καὶ [ὑπὸ] τὸν κόσμον, ἄλκιμε θαλασσοκράτωρ, which is clearly relevant here, as is IV 1600 τὸν ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν κόσμον, ἄλκιμον θαλασσοκράτορα. Both are from an invocation of Helios. Here there is a blot obscuring the epsilon, but it does not look as if ὁ ἐπὶ was ever written. On the other hand line 13 suggests that ἐπὶ with the genitive is really intended, in the sense 'in charge of, in command of', although in the parallel passages the preposition means 'above', as the contrast with ὑπό, 'below', shows.

ἀλκμε. The spacing and the overlining make it clear that the writer intended this as a magic formula, but it cannot be accidental that the related passages cited above have the Greek word ἄλκιμος next to θαλασσοκράτωρ. We could pursue this line further: 11 χωρεῖθ? = χωρεῖτε = χωρεῖτε, 'begone?', cf. LSJ s.v. χωρέω init.; 22 ἀερ- = ἀερ-?; 23 ἀτερβ- = ἀταρβ-?, but in all probability this failure to recognize a poetic word is an isolated mistake.

i 13–ii 14 See introd. on the question of the extent of the loss at the foot of col. i. I incline to think that not very much is lost.

17–22 This looks like a recipe, with ingredients and instructions. We can only guess how wide the column was, but it is tempting to suggest a pattern of short restorations:

λεπτὸν [ν c. 4?
 . .] εἰς ἔλεον χα[λάσας
 μετὰ κόπρον [κροκο-
 5 δύλον καὶ μαλ[αχῶν τε-
 λείων ὀλίγων [χρίσιν
 τὴν ὄψιν.

'Soak fine (small?) ... in oil with crocodile dung and few mature (?) mallows (?) and rub on the face'.

Of course this is full of uncertainties and fantasies, but gives some idea of the sort of recipe that stood here. Smearing the face could suit an invisibility spell, cf. PGM i I 255–6 (after a different revolting recipe) χρίσιν σου τὸ μέτωπον μόνον ἐκ τοῦ συνθέματος, καὶ ἄφαντος ἔσῃ, 'smear your forehead only with the compound and you will be invisible'. Crocodile dung may not be so nasty a substance as it first appears; magicians used cryptic terms to conceal secret ingredients, see the list in PGM ii XII 401–444 (cf. H. D. Betz, *op. cit.* 167–8), which includes (414) ἀφόδευμα κορκοδείλου. Αἰθιοπικὴν [γ]ῆν.

27–8 φύλλον καλπάς(ς)ου. Cf. PGM i IV 2046, 2073, 2103, 2117, 2141, ii XIXb.3. In all these the third letter is lambda, but LSJ has it under κάρπαςος.

κατόρυξον. Cf. PGM ii XII 100. We can guess that the instruction will have been to write a magic formula on this plant leaf and bury it somewhere appropriate, but nothing specific has emerged from the damaged parts of the text.

3932. PRIVATE LETTER: PAUL TO MARY

101/203(a)

30.5 × 25 cm

Sixth century

Paul was a shorthand writer, an *exceptor* (16), probably on the staff of the provincial governor mentioned in line 6. During his absence from Oxyrhynchus he had received from Mary his mother only one letter, which was delivered by a *singularis*, an official messenger probably also on the staff of the governor. In this she said that she had sent him three letters without receiving an answer. Here he assured her that he had only received one and told her that he would be back in Oxyrhynchus within days, along with the governor, who no doubt had his headquarters there, since it was the capital of the province of Arcadia.

The letter is virtually undamaged. The writing, which is the best indication of the date, is a big sloping cursive, very flowing and practised, although it becomes more careless in the last three or four lines. Its general resemblance to W. Schubart, *Griechische Palaeographie* 93 (Abb. 59), dated AD 541, allows us to assign it with reasonable confidence to the sixth century.

The writing runs across the fibres on what was the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut. This is shown by a sheet-join which runs horizontally under line 10 about 16 cm from the top edge. The join overlaps from top to bottom of the letter, so that the right hand edge would have been the top of the roll.

When the letter was finished it was folded from right to left along a vertical line about 17 cm from the left edge, so that the narrower right hand part, about 13.5 cm wide, rested face down on the wider one. Then the folded letter was rolled up from the foot and squashed flat. The exposed top edge was tucked inside and the flattish package, 17 cm long and perhaps about 3 cm broad, was tied shut by a binding strip round the middle. The main part of the address, line 15, was written along one side of the package. On the other side the address was finished on the surface to the right of the binding and a design consisting of a circle filled with diagonal cross-hatching was inked over the binding on that side. The surface to the left of that remains blank. The removal of the binding, which was probably a strip of papyrus, by the recipient has removed the middle of the design and also much of the mu of *σεμνοπρ(επεστάτη)* in line 15.

(Read with Jairus Banaji.)

- . ()
- ⲡ ἔδεξάμην τὰ γράμματα τῆς σῆς μητρικῆς εὐνοίας διὰ τοῦ θαυμασιωτάτου
 Ἀνηλίου τοῦ κυγουλάριου—θεὸς οἶδεν ταῦτα πρῶτα τυγχάνοντα—καὶ πάνν
 ἐχάρην
 γνοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑγιαίνειν ὑμᾶς. καὶ σὺν θεῷ ἐν ταύταις ἐπικαταλαμβάνομεν τὴν
 5 Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου καὶ
 εὐδοκιμωτάτου
 ἄρχοντος, καὶ ἐλπίζω, ἡμῶν καταλαμβανόντων τὰ ἐκείσε, ὡς ὅτιπερ
 περὶ ἐκάστου τύπος δοθήσεται. οὐκ ὀφείλετε δὲ μέμψασθαι με ὡς ὅτιπερ
 πρ' ὧ' τον
 καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἐγράψατέ μοι καὶ τῶν ἀμ[υ]οὶ β[ε]ο[υ]ν οὐκ
 ἐτύχατε. θεὸς γάρ
 οἶδεν ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ἐξ ὅτου ἐξῆλθον τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν, εἰ μὴ ταύτην καὶ
 10 μόνην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν οὐκ ἔδεξάμην ὑμῶν. ἔγνω δὲ ὡς ὅτιπερ
 Καλήμερος οὐ κατέχεται, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἐμοῦ συμμάχου καὶ παρὰ ἄλλων
 πολλῶν.
 πολλὰ ὑμᾶς προσαγορεύω. προσαγορεύει δὲ καὶ ὁ γλυκύτατος κοινὸς
 υἱὸς Θεῶν καὶ . . . καὶ χάρις τῷ κρίττονι τῷ παρασκευάσαντι ὑμᾶς ταύτην
 τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πέμψαι τὴν διὰ Ἀνηλίου τοῦ κυγουλάριου. (vac.)
 Back, along the fibres;
 15 ⲡ ἐπίδ(ος) τῇ κυρίᾳ μο' υ' σεμνοπρ(επεστάτῃ) καὶ εὐγεν(εστάτῃ) μητρὶ Μαρία
 (design) π(αρά) Παύλου ἐξκ(έπτορος).

4 ὑγιαίνειν
 16 π', ἐξκ/

7 τύπος

13 κριτ'τονι; 1. κρείττονι

15 ἐπίδς, σεμνοπρ/, εὐγενς

'I received your maternal kindness's letter through the most admirable Anelius, the guard—God knows, this (was) the first to arrive—and I rejoiced greatly on learning from it that you are well. And in these days, with God's help, we shall reach Oxyrhynchus with my lord the most magnificent and most respected governor, and I hope when we arrive in those parts that a ruling will be issued on every matter. You ought not to blame me that you wrote to me once and a second time and a third and did not receive returns. God Almighty knows, since the time I left Oxyrhynchus I received (nothing) except this one and only letter of yours. Yet I learned that Calemerus is not being detained, both from my messenger and from many others. I give you many greetings, and Theon too, the most sweet son of us both, greets you, as does ... And thanks (be) to the Greater Power that caused you to send this letter, the one (which came) through Anelius the guard.'

Address. 'Deliver to my most revered and most well-born lady mother, Mary, from Paul, *exceptor*.'

1 For the symbol in the top margin, of unknown meaning, see LVI 3867 1 n. It may be worth suggesting the possibility that it derives from the equally mysterious heading found in official Latin documents readable as *f() l()*, see CPR V 13. 1 n., with Tafel 25.

2 The initial Christian symbol here and in line 15 is the 'monogrammatic cross', cf. LVI 3871 1–2 n. τῆς εἰς μητρικῆς εὐνοίας. No other example of this particular abstract style of address has been located, but cf. H. Zilliaccus, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen* in general and the list on pp. 105–8.

θαυμασιωτάτου. Cf. LVI 3869 14 n. It denotes a modest rank.

3 Ἀνηλίου. Cf. 14. P. Princ. III 138. 2, mentioning a boat captain of the same name, is also assigned to the sixth century.

κιγγουλαρίου. Cf. 14. The provincial *singulares* were originally the guards of high ranking Roman officers and governors. From at least the fourth century they were minor civil servants of the *militia officialis* rather than soldiers and are known mostly as dispatch riders, see M. P. Speidel, *Guards of the Roman Armies* 40–41, cf. CPR XIV 39. 13–17 n. This seems to be reflected again in our document. Anelius was probably on the staff of the *praeses Arcadiae* mentioned in line 6.

4 ἐπικαταλαμβάνομεν. The entry in F. Preisigke, WB I gives two wrong references (P. Tebt. I 17. 8, P. Lips. 35. 5), and in the only reference to the same meaning as here, ἐπικαταλήμφομαι τὴν πόλιν in P. Cair. Masp. I 67082. 3, the verb is middle only in the strictly formal sense. The same future occurs in P. Harr. I 157. 3, where the sense is not quite clear because of the damaged context; perhaps it means, 'I shall arrive later', cf. SB VI 9106. 6, 9396. 2. Add now P. Mich. inv. 490. 10 (ZPE 84 (1990) 40). Compare below 6 n. on καταλαμβάνόντων τὰ ἐκεῖσε.

5 μεγαλοπρεπεστάτου. Cf. O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate* 28–9. It is usually applied to *praesides* from the end of the fifth century, having once been a mark of the highest rank.

εὐδοκιμωτάτου. Cf. LVI 3867 5 n. It is usually found applied to persons lower in rank than a *praeses*, but it is clearly an expression of respect rather than a title of rank.

The same combination μεγαλοπρεπέστατος καὶ εὐδοκιμώτατος is found in P. Flor. III 303. 2 referring to a *τρακτευτής*, cf. LV 3805 31 n. It is restored and made to refer to a *comes* in SB III 6270. 1, where ἐ[νδοξοτάτῳ] might be at least more plausible. A photograph of P. Harr. I 157 verso shows]φ() δεσπότη ἐμῷ τὰ πάντα μεγαλοπρεπ(εστάτῳ) καὶ εὐδοκιμωτ(άτῳ)—instead of μεγαλοπρεπεῖ εὐδοκιμωτ(άτῳ)—προστάτῃ καὶ γεούχ(ῳ) Στρατηγίῳ. Strategius is likely to be one of the Apion family and therefore of very high rank.

6 ἄρχωντος. Since, according to Georgius Cyprius, *Descriptio Orbis Romani* (ed. H. Gelzer, Bibl. Teubn.) 745, Oxyrhynchus was the provincial capital of Arcadia, this is presumably the *praeses Arcadiae*. The earliest documentary reference to the province is in Stud. Pal. XX 117 of AD 411, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Mnemosyne* ser. 4, 31 (1978) 287–93, and it survived into the Arab period, cf. e.g. CPR VIII 72–84. For its administration after Justinian's Edict XIII see J. G. Keenan, *Museum Philologum Londiniense* 2 (1977) 193–202, chiefly concerned with the lack of evidence for a *dux Arcadiae*. A new document, P. Prag. I 64, has at last revealed a *dux*, but the date is AD 636; it remains unknown whether the office was introduced by Justinian or under a later emperor, cf. Keenan p. 202.

καταλαμβάνόντων τὰ ἐκεῖσε. Cf. above 4 n., LI 3637 2 n.

ὥς ὅτιπερ. Cf. 7, 10. There seem to be only two papyrological parallels, XVI 1831 2, 1833 2, cf. LSJ s.v. ὅτι B.1.a, citing only Thuc. 4. 14. 2 (without ὥς).

7 τύπος is a word of many shades of meaning. Here the general sense is evidently regulation or ruling, cf. WB s.v. 1(c), 2(b). The sentence seems to mean that the *praeses* will settle any legal or administrative matters still outstanding in the locality when he comes. It seems to be suggested that Mary had an interest in one of the matters to be settled.

8 ἀμβύβων is corrected to ἀμοιβαίων by a small clumsy hand, cf. 16 n. For the expression cf. P. Ant. I 44. 5, spelled ἀμοιβέων. For the phonetic spelling see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 197–8 (οι>υ), 191–3 (αι>ε). ἐτύχατε. For second aorists with first aorist endings see F. T. Gignac, *BASP* 22 (1985) 49–54, cf. id. *Grammar* ii 335–45, esp. 343.

11 Καλήμερος is not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*; W. Pape, G. E. Benseler, *Wb. d. gr. Eigennamen* cite only Sozomenus, *Hist. Eccles.* 9. 17; H. Solin, *Die gr. Personennamen in Rom* i 96 gives three epigraphical references, with sixteen instances of the feminine Καλημέρα, cf. SB V 8007. 4, 7. Cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* 9 (1950) 65.

παρὰ τοῦ ἐμοῦ συμμάχου. On the armed messengers called *εὐμμάχοι* see A. Jördens, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 105–118. No uniform picture emerges from this thorough survey. Some were appointed under the liturgical system of public service. Payments to them in both money and kind are recorded. In this case ἐμοῦ could indicate that he was privately employed by Paul or, perhaps more probably, that he was employed by the state but assigned to serve as messenger to this particular *exceptor*.

Evidently Mary thought that Calemerus was being detained, whereas Paul had information that this was not so. It seems to be implied that Calemerus had something to do with Mary's undelivered letters to Paul.

12-13 ὁ γλυκύτατος κοινὸς υἱὸς Θεῶν. This is another clear example of a term of blood relationship used as an expression of respect or affection, cf. e.g. LV **3813-3815** introd. Theon stood in a filial relation to both Paul and Mary, being their 'common son', but he cannot have been the son by blood of both of them, if Mary was Paul's mother (2, 15), or even if she was a person of sufficient age and dignity to be addressed by Paul as if she were.

13 κρίττονι (= κρείττονι). See G. W. H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. κρείττων 2 for this way of referring to God. Cf. SB V 8003. 3, P. Cair. Masp. I 67006 verso 12, 67064. 11?, 67089 verso 13 (duplicate III 67294. 13), and perhaps SB VI 9218. 18, 21, where the context is badly damaged.

14 Cf. 2-3 and 3 n.

15 σεμνοπρ(επεστάτη). See introd. for the cause of the damage to mu and for the placing of the address. This superlative adjective applies in the papyri only to women, see XVI **1872** 7 (V/VI), P. Cair. Masp. III 67279 7 (= I 67010. 6 + BL I p. 102; c. AD 570). The abstract σεμνοπρέπεια applies to a man in SB VI 9400. 8 (VI), see H. Zilliaceus, *Untersuchungen zu den abstrakten Anredeformen* 74, cf. L. Dineen, *Titles of Address in Christian Epistolography to 527 A.D.* 61, 108, 109 (of bishops, laymen and women).

εὐγεν(εστάτη). This superlative is used predominantly but not exclusively of women, see O. Hornickel, *Ehren- u. Rangprädikate* 12.

16 ἐξκ(έπτορος). For an account of the importance and the rise of shorthand writers see H. Teitler, *Notarii and Exceptores* (Early Principate to c. 450 AD), esp. 73-5, on their presence in the provincial officia, cf. A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* i 593; O. Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum* 100 (Or. XLIV). Although it seems overwhelmingly likely that Paul was on the staff of the governor of Arcadia, exceptores were not employed exclusively in the central and provincial officia: note the unusual ἐξκέπτορα τοῦ ἐκδίκου (VIII **1108** 13; VI/VII) and those of the city of Ravenna in P. Ital. I 4-5B viii 6; 8 i 2; 10-11 i 7, ii 8, 14-15 iii 1, 3, 7, 13 (I 16. 81 and 22. 10, 52 are the usual state officers); II 31 iii 1, 2, 6, 15.

Paul's chief duty would have been to make a record in shorthand of proceedings in the governor's court and to produce a fair copy in ordinary writing soon after the session ended. The process is discussed at length by S. Lancel, *Actes de la Conférence de Carthage en 411* i 342-53. Note also the presence of an exceptor and an officialis of the staff of a praeses Thebaidos at a hearing held by a curator ciuitatis in Panopolis at which a decision of the praeses was placed in evidence (P. Panop. 30. 4). Altogether unexpected is the petition directed to a ταχυγράφος, the Greek for exceptor, of the staff of a praeses Arcadiae by a woman accusing her son-in-law, who threw her out, of theft and assault (SB VI 9239; AD 548), see the commentary of the first edition, J. Lallemand, *CE* 27 (1952) 205-9. The Greek title is rather rarer, see also XVI **1965** 4 (AD 553), P. Berl. Zill. 7. 4 (AD 574), Stud. Pal. XX 247. 2 (VI/VII); all four are connected with praesides.

P. Mich. XI 624 is an interesting letter of the early sixth century addressed to an exceptor, mentioning an ἀρχων who was no doubt a praeses Arcadiae, since Heracleopolis and Arsinoe are named, together with other members of his officium, an ab actis, a numerarius and officiales. P. Cair. Masp. III 67312 is the will of a member of the officium of a dux Thebaidos, possibly an exceptor, who had property in three nomes and a house in Antinoopolis (AD 567).

To the references given in S. Daris, *Lessico Latino* there can be added P. Panop. 30. 4, SB XIV 12187. 2-7, P. Berl. Zill. 4. 28 (Latin), P. Herm. Landl. 1. 416, P. Laur. II 26. 26, IV 179. 2, P. Mich. XI 624. 31, XIV 683. 1, 3, 4, 5, P. Freer 08. 45 iv 124 = J. Gascou, L. S. B. MacCoull, *Travaux et Mémoires* 10 (1987) 122, CPR XIV 12. 1; 39. 11, 12.

Because of the nature of his work we might expect an exceptor to be perfectly capable of writing a letter himself, but in the ancient circumstances we might equally well expect him to make use of an amanuensis. Possibly the correction of ἀμβέων to ἀμοιβαίων in line 8 shows Paul's superior education, in spite of the clumsy way in which it was done, while the fluent script denotes a professional scribe.

II. DOCUMENTS OF THE LATE BYZANTINE PERIOD

3933–3962. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

These items have been brought together chiefly to illustrate the formulaic prescripts of contracts made during the reigns of Maurice, Phocas, and Heraclius. The stimulus to collect them came from Dr Zbigniew Borkowski, who made a great leap forward in the understanding of the prescripts of this period and used their evidence in his work on the inscriptions found in the ruins of a small auditorium in Alexandria, see Z. Borkowski, *Inscriptions des factions à Alexandrie* (Warsaw, 1981) App. I, pp. 127–136. Borkowski's work was followed and amplified by R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, 'Christian Invocations in the Papyri', *CE* 56 (1981) 112–133, 'Christian Invocations in the Papyri: a Supplement', *ibid.* 362–5; add J. Gascou, K. A. Worp, 'P. Rain. Cent. 35 et SB I 4483: les invocations', *ZPE* 57 (1984) 105–110.

From AD 537 up to AD 591 the prescribed form was a dating clause by the regnal year of the emperor and/or by the year of his consulship, followed by the month, day, and indiction. This is sometimes referred to as the *intitulatio*. Maurice introduced a religious invocation (*invocatio*), which took up a position before the date. It first appears in the papyri in AD 591.

Some of the changes in the formulas were linked with political changes: under Maurice the formula was an unvarying invocation of Christ, while Phocas introduced an invocation of the Trinity, of which there were several local variations, and under Heraclius the invocation of Christ was reintroduced in Lower Egypt only, Upper Egypt retaining Trinitarian formulas.

Borkowski was especially interested in the period of the revolt of Heraclius against Phocas, which led to the accession of Heraclius in October AD 610. He was clearly right to claim that some documents with an *invocatio* but lacking an *intitulatio* could be shown to belong to a period of uncertainty, during which the clerks realized that Phocas was no longer in power but had no authority to name Heraclius in his place. Borkowski made a further claim, however, that a strange sort of *intitulatio* in which the emperor is referred to as 'our same most pious master' (τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου), without any previous specification of his name, also indicates uncertainty about the continuance of the reign of Phocas. This theory has already been contested by R. S. Bagnall in a review of Borkowski's book in *BASP* 20 (1983) 75–80. The fuller evidence now available, which shows that the nameless formula was used intermittently in Oxyrhynchus for Tiberius Constantine, Maurice, and Phocas over a long period, supports Bagnall, see **3933** 2–3 n. Documents which foreshadow the downfall of Phocas by completely omitting the *intitulatio* cover only the comparatively short period from 27 February 610 (SB I 5270) to, probably, 23 September 610 (**3953**). Phocas was still

recognized, although unnamed, in Oxyrhynchus on 11 June 609 (see **3933** 2-3 n., item 12 in the list). His name does appear in an Oxyrhynchite document of 9 June 609 (**3948**). Therefore the numismatic evidence which is taken to indicate that the rebels had control of the mint of Alexandria during the indiction year 11 = AD 607/8, see W. Hahn, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini* ii 84-7, iii 35, 78-9, Borkowski, *IFA* 137-143, receives no support from the papyri of Middle Egypt. This does not necessarily invalidate that evidence. There was prolonged resistance in Lower Egypt according to the account of John of Nikiou (R. H. Charles, *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiou* 167-75). Middle Egypt could hardly do otherwise than retain the official formulas as long as possible. It is remarkable enough that its confidence was shaken more than seven months before the official accession of Heraclius, cf. **3949** introd. Note the gap in our information between 11 June 609 and 27 February 610; we cannot know at what point inside this period the interregnum began.

Study of the prescripts is bedeviled by other chronological problems. The latest survey of the use of the consular and post-consular years of Maurice, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *BASP* 18 (1981) 35-38, makes them seem very complicated. At least as far as the papyri from Oxyrhynchus are concerned a simpler system seems to work. A convincing demonstration can be made by reproducing from *BASP* their tables of consular datings under Maurice with the addition of the actual dates as near as can be determined, mostly following their own conversions in *Chronological Systems* 127-8.

TABLE I

A. <i>ὑπατείας</i> counted by consular reckoning, based on Mauricius' consulate in 583, i.e. with 583 = consular year 1.		
1.	P. Oxy. XVI 1988 (587), regnal 6, cos. 5	29.12.587
2.	P. Oxy. XVI 1989 (590), regnal [9], cos. 8	3.11.590
3.	P. Erl. 87 (592), regnal 10, cos. 10 [ἔτος δεκάτης(!) twice: no month, day, or indiction survives]	!
4.	P. Amh. II 150 (592), regnal 11, cos. 10	20.10.592
5.	P. Oxy. I 201 desc. (593), regnal 12, cos. 11	27.9.593
6.	PSI I 60 (595), regnal 14, cos. 13	8.10.595
7.	P. Oxy. XXVII 2478 (595), regnal 14, cos. 13	27.11.595
8.	PSI I 59 (596), regnal [15], cos. 14	3.11.596
9.	P. Wash. Univ. 26 (596), regnal [15], cos. 14	1.10.596
10.	P. Oxy. XIX 2239 (598), regnal [17], cos. 16	10.10.598
11.	P. Oxy. XVI 1991 (601), cos. [1]9	18.9.601
B. <i>μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν</i> counted by postconsular reckoning, based on Mauricius' consulate in 593, i.e. with 584 = p.c. year 1.		
1.	P. Erl. 67 (591), p.c. 8	17.9.591
2.	P. Stras. 318 (596), p.c. 13	19.9.596
3.	SB VI 9153 (596), p.c. 13	14 or 24.9.596
4.	P. Köln III 158 (599), p.c. 16	18(?) .10.599

C. ὑπατείας counted by postconsular reckoning, based on consulate in 583, i.e. counting 584 as consular year 1.

1.	P. Oxy. VI 996 (584), regnal 3, cos. 1	20.11.584!
2.	P. Lond. V 1731 (585), regnal 4, cos. 2	20.9.585!
3.	P. Oxy. XX 2283 (586), regnal 4, cos. 3	7.2.586
4.	P. Monac. 11 (586), regnal 5, cos. 3	7.10.586!
5.	P. Oxy. XVI 1987 (587), regnal 5, cos. 4	17.2.587
6.	P. Oxy. XVI 1993 (587), regnal 5, cos. 4	9.3.587
7.	P. Oxy. XVI 1898 (587), regnal 5, cos. 4	13.3.587
8.	P. Oxy. XLIV 3204 (588), regnal 6, cos. 5	2.1.588
9.	P. Köln III 157 (589), regnal 7, cos. 6	14.7.589
10.	P. Oxy. XVI 1990 (591), regnal 9, cos. 8	12.1.591
11.	P. Oxy. XVIII 2202 (593), regnal 11, cos. 10	27.3.593
12.	P. Monac. 14 (594), regnal 12, cos. 11	15.2.594
13.	P. Lond. V 1733 (594), regnal 12, cos. 11	6.3.594
14.	PSI III 244 (597), regnal 15, cos. 14	12.6.597
15.	P. Vatic. Aphrod. 1 (598), regnal 16, cos. 15 (N.B.: indiction points to 599, probably in error)	23.4.598?
16.	BGU I 255 (599), regnal 17, cos. 16	15.5.599
17.	PSI III 239 (601), cos. 18, ind. 4	9.2.601

D. μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν counted by consular reckoning from Mauricius' consulate in 583, i.e. with 584 = p.c. year 2.

1.	P. Lond. V 1897 (588), regnal 7, p.c. 6	? 10–11.588!
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(Several restored texts are left out of account, viz. P. Cair. Masp. I 67111, P. Warren 10, P. Genova I 32, PSI III 248, SB VI 9561.)

What strikes the eye immediately is that all the dates in section A fall in the last four months of the year, while almost all the dates in section C fall in the first seven months. If we accept that the so-called consular year began at some date between 14 July (C.9) and 17 September (B.1) and that consular year 1 was 583/4 and post-consular year 1 therefore 584/5, there are only six texts in this table where we need to assume any error or different calculation.

A.3 (Heracleopolite?) is plainly unreliable; the spelling is odd as well as the counting. C.15 (Aphrodito) looks like a simple slip. D.1 (Antinoopolis?) can perhaps be accounted for as Bagnall and Worp suggest, or it may be mere error too. That appears to leave only VI **996** (C.1), P. Lond. V 1731 (C.2) and P. Monac. I 11 (C.4), which may be explicable as a different count, see below pp. 55–6, but two more items of the same archive from Syene as C.2 and C.4 have been omitted from the table on the ground that they are mere errors, P. Monac. 10 and 13, see *ibid.* p. 37. From this archive only P. Monac. 14 (C.12) seems acceptable to us all. It looks as if clerks in Syene were failing to deal with or avoid the complications as efficiently as those in Oxyrhynchus. Two documents from Nessana suggest that there the scribes knew the correct system and were able to cope with the intricacies, see *ibid.* pp. 37–8.

At first it seems a shocking idea that a consular year might begin on some other date than 1 January, but it needs only a short study of the chaos of the dating clauses

of the previous reign to force the realization that there was good reason to seek a simpler system, cf. D. Hagedorn, B. Kramer, *ΣPE* 42 (1981) 123–7, R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *BASP* 17 (1980) 22–3. It seems that at least some clerks or their authorities gave up trying to juggle with a regnal year beginning on 13 August, a consular year beginning near 1 January, and an indiction year beginning on 29 (or 30) August each year. They settled on a fixed relationship for the consular year and made its beginning coincide with one, or both, of the others. In P. Monac. III 98. 5 n. R. Hübner concluded that the consular year was equated with the Egyptian year, pointing out seven documents which show that the number of the consulship was raised near the end of the Julian year. My suspicion is that the consular, and indeed regnal, year may begin not with the alleged regnal year on 13 August, but rather with the old traditional calendar year on 29 (or 30) August, and at the same time as the indiction year. We can see that the writer of **3934** did not change the regnal and consular numbers on 13 August 588. This seems to support my suspicion, though it may be possible that Maurice chose some day later than that of his crowning for his *dies imperii*, cf. **3934** 1–6 n.

It is not clear when the simpler system was introduced in Oxyrhynchus. The table below begins from 585/6, because **996** of 20 November 584 seems to show that an attempt was made to deal with all three types of year in 584/5, see below p. 55 and Table III, but the earliest document visibly to attest the simplified system is **1989** (A.2) of 3 November 590, since for **1988** (A.1) of 29 December 587 it is still possible in theory that the number of the consular year was advanced to 5 on the fourth anniversary of Maurice's entry to the consulship, if that was on 20 or 25 December 583, see below *ibid.* This table should be adequate to deal with all documents from Oxyrhynchus with date formulas of the period:

TABLE II

585/6	regnal 4	consular 3	post-consular 2	indiction 4	era 262/231
586/7	r. 5	c. 4	p.c. 3	i. 5	e. 263/232
587/8	r. 6	c. 5	p.c. 4	i. 6	e. 264/233
588/9	r. 7	c. 6	p.c. 5	i. 7	e. 265/234
589/590	r. 8	c. 7	p.c. 6	i. 8	e. 266/235
590/1	r. 9	c. 8	p.c. 7	i. 9	e. 267/236
591/2	r. 10	c. 9	p.c. 8	i. 10	e. 268/237
592/3	r. 11	c. 10	p.c. 9	i. 11	e. 269/238
593/4	r. 12	c. 11	p.c. 10	i. 12	e. 270/239
594/5	r. 13	c. 12	p.c. 11	i. 13	e. 271/240
595/6	r. 14	c. 13	p.c. 12	i. 14	e. 272/241
596/7	r. 15	c. 14	p.c. 13	i. 15	e. 273/242
597/8	r. 16	c. 15	p.c. 14	i. 1	e. 274/243
598/9	r. 17	c. 16	p.c. 15	i. 2	e. 275/244
599/600	r. 18	c. 17	p.c. 16	i. 3	e. 276/245
600/601	r. 19	c. 18	p.c. 17	i. 4	e. 277/246
601/2	r. 20	c. 19	p.c. 18	i. 5	e. 278/247
602/3	r. 21	c. 20	p.c. 19	i. 6	e. 279/248

The stage before the adoption of this simplified system is represented by VI 996, C.1 above, of 20 November 584, expressed as Hathyr 24 of the 3rd indiction, regnal year 3, and consular year, according to ed. pr., 1 (ὕπατείας ... ἔτους α). The consular figure is seriously damaged, see now R. Pintaudi, *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Pap. Flor. VII) Tav. II, but the interpretation of the remains as alpha by the first editors is supported by two documents from Syene, P. Lond. V 1731, C.2 above, where 20 September 585 is expressed as Thoth 23 of the 4th indiction, regnal year 4, and consular year 2, and P. Monac. I 11, C.4 above, where 7 October 586 is expressed as Phaophi 10 of the 5th indiction, regnal year 5, and consular year 3. These are correct according to the facts; therefore 996 suggests that there was an initial attempt in Oxyrhynchus to deal with all three years correctly.

Maurice came to the throne on 13 August 582 (Chron. Pasch. (SHB) i p. 690), so that his regnal year 1 was 13.8.582–12.8.583, year 2 was 13.8.583–12.8.584, etc. According to Theophylactus Simocatta I 12.12 he assumed his consulship in the winter of his second year, which specifies 583/4. The Chron. Pasch., pp. 690–1, says that indiction 1 = 582/3 was an ἐνιαυτὸς ἀνύπατος, and that indiction 2 = 583/4 was consular year 1. Theophanes *Chronographia* gives the day of the consulship as 20 December (ed. J. Classen, SHB i 390) or 25 December (ed. de Boor, 253. 24–5) of indiction 2 = 583/4, i.e. December 583.

A correct scheme of significant dates for the first five regnal years would run as follows:

TABLE III

Julian Dates	Regnal	Indiction	Consular	Post-consular
13 August–28 August 582	r. 1	i. 15	—	p.c. Tiberius 4
29 August–31 December 582?	r. 1	i. 1	—	p.c. Tiberius 4
1 January?–12 August 583	r. 1	i. 1	—	p.c. Tiberius 5
13 August–29 August 583	r. 2	i. 1	—	p.c. Tiberius 5
30 August–24 December 583?	r. 2	i. 2	—	p.c. Tiberius 5
25 December 583?–12 August 584	r. 2	i. 2	c. 1	p.c. Tiberius 6
13 August–28 August 584	r. 3	i. 2	c. 1	p.c. Tiberius 6
29 August–24 December 584?	r. 3	i. 3	c. 1	p.c. Tiberius 6
25 December 584?–12 August 585	r. 3	i. 3	c. 2	p.c. 1
13 August–28 August 585	r. 4	i. 3	c. 2	p.c. 1
29 August–24 December 585?	r. 4	i. 4	c. 2	p.c. 1
25 December 585?–12 August 586	r. 4	i. 4	c. 3	p.c. 2
13 August–28 August 586	r. 5	i. 4	c. 3	p.c. 2
29 August–24 December 586?	r. 5	i. 5	c. 3	p.c. 2
25 December 586?–12 August 587	r. 5	i. 5	c. 4	p.c. 3

According to this scheme, therefore, VI 996, P. Lond. V 1731, and P. Monac. 11 are correctly dated. P. Monac. 10 and 13 remain intractable, see *BASP* 17 (1980) 23–4, 18 (1981) 37; both are dated in January with regnal and indiction years correct by the scheme, but consular years one less than they should be: P. Monac. 10 has r. 4, i. 4, c. 2(!), Mecheir 3(?) = 28 January 586, P. Monac. 13 has r. 12, i. 12, c. 10(!),

Tybi 23 = 18 January 594. There are six other documents with contradictions which are so far inexplicable, but none of them comes from Oxyrhynchus and none of them includes a figure for the consular year, see Bagnall, Worp, *BASP* 17 (1980) 23–4.

The earliest Oxyrhynchite documents of the reign come from before Maurice's consulate or at least before news of it had arrived there. The formulas have regnal years of Maurice and post-consular years of the deceased Tiberius Constantine, as well as indiction, month, and day:

TABLE IV

Reference	Regnal	Indiction	Post-consular of Tiberius	Month and day
XVI 1976	r. 1	i. 1	p.c. 4	Hathyr 27 = 22.11.582
I 136	r. 1	i. 1	p.c. 5	Pachon 29 = 24.5.583
P. Genova I 31	r. 2	[lost]	[lost]	[lost] = 583/4
I 137	r. 3!	i. 2	p.c. 6	Tybi 15 = 11.1.584

The first three of these agree with Table III and pose no problem, but in **137** the regnal year appears to be one more than we expect. It would be explained by an immediate return to the traditional system by which regnal year 2 began on Thoth 1 (= 29 or, for a leap year, 30 August) following the accession, but all the other documents contradict this and documents of later years, beginning with XX **2283** (7 February 586), show that 585/6 was then considered regnal year 4, and so on throughout the reign.

A photograph of **137**, now in Cairo, suggests that $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \bar{\beta}$ rather than $\bar{\gamma}$ is what we should read, see Plate IV. There is virtually no damage here. It is the cursive writing which causes the difficulty. In this hand beta is a small u-shaped letter, which we can see standing alone in the indiction number in line 4 and in five other contexts in these first four lines. We can also study the cursive connection between sigma and gamma close by in $\lambda\eta\acute{\xi}\epsilon\omega\varsigma \gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon$ (3) and $\mathcal{A}\pi\acute{\iota}\omega\nu[o]\varsigma \gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon$ (6). In these the cap of the lunate sigma arches over and plunges straight down below the baseline into the long descender of Byzantine gamma; in the regnal date the arched top of the sigma of $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ is carried down to the baseline and smoothly round and up to the level of the tops of the letters, then it descends sharply to a level slightly below the baseline and rises sharply and obliquely to the right. I interpret this as a u-shaped beta, the last stroke of which descends slightly below the baseline much as it does in the beta of the indiction number in line 4, followed by an oblique stroke marking the numeral. This writer treats the marking of the numbers inconsistently, and it may be worth stressing that inconsistency is what we should school ourselves to expect from papyri. The regnal year number here has a horizontal stroke above it, incidentally better placed for my beta than for ed. pr.'s gamma, with, according to my reading, an oblique to the right; the post-consular year number in line 4 has two rather shorter obliques to the right, although these are not recorded in the edition; the day number has a short horizontal over the second digit only; and the indiction number stands without any marker.

With the new reading in this document accepted as correct the calculations for the Oxyrhynchite consular date formulas of Maurice seem to resolve themselves into three types, the first using post-consular years of Tiberius Constantine and regnal years of Maurice (known from 22.11.582–11.1.584, see Table IV), the second using regnal and consular years of Maurice strictly (996 only, of 20.11.584), the third using a system which assimilates the years in some way not yet precisely definable, but probably by making regnal, consular, and indictional years correspond with the traditional calendar year beginning on Thoth 1 (first clearly indicated by 1989 of 3.11.590).

Although the items of evidence are still very few, the indications are that in Oxyrhynchus conflation of the regnal, consular and indictional years endured into the reigns of Phocas, see 3933 2–3 n., item 12 in the list, and Heraclius, see 3955 introd.

3933. GOLDSMITH'S WORK CONTRACT

65 6B.33/D(7–8)a

10.5 × 32.5 cm

13 April 588

The date clause refers to the fifth consular year of an unnamed emperor, see 2–3 n.

The workman agreed to serve a master goldsmith for a year at the total wage of three gold *solidi*. For a summary of what is known about work contracts and a list of parallels see O. Montevicchi, *La Papirologia* 220–221. Her collection of texts, *I contratti di lavoro* (1950) is still convenient, though incomplete. Cf. A. Jördens, *ZPE* 64 (1986) 59–71, 75 (1988) 164–6; add from this volume 3942, 3952, 3958, and perhaps 3943–3946. For comparative material on wages see A. C. Johnson, L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* 194–7.

Damage by abrasion is severe in places, but the sheet is complete and the text is recoverable where it consists of common form. The clause in lines 27–32, for which no good parallel has yet been found, remains incomprehensible.

+

+ ὑπατίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν
 δεσπότης ἔτους πέμπτου, Φαρμουῦθι ιη, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ς.
 τῷ θαυμασιωτάτῳ Θεοδώρῳ χρυσοχόῳ
 5 υἱῷ τοῦ μακαρίου Cερήνου ἀπὸ ταύτης
 τῆς Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) πόλεως Αὐρ(ήλιος) Cερήνος ἐργάτης
 τῶν χρυσοχόων υἱὸς τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀπολλ[ῶ
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ
 ἔκου]ς[ία γνώμη καὶ αὐθαιρέτῳ προαιρέσει
 10 ς]υ[ντε]θεῖςθαί με πρὸς τὴν σὴν θαυμ(ασιότητα)

2 ὑπατίας; 1. ὑπατείας

3 ἰνδ/?

6 οξυρυγχς, αὐρς

7 υἱος

10 θαυμς

- ἀπὸ] νεομηνίας τοῦ παρελθόντος μηνὸς
 Θωπ̄ τῆς παρούσης ἔκτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἐφ' ᾧ τέ
 με τὴν πᾶσαν χώραν τοῦ ἐργάτου τῶν
 χρυσοχόων παρ' αὐτῇ ἀποπληρῶσαι
 15 ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀόκνως καὶ ἀκατα-
 γνώστως καὶ δέξασθαι με παρ' αὐτῆς
 λόγῳ μισθοῦ μου τοῦ παντός ἐνιαυτοῦ
 χρυσοῦ νομίσματα τρία ἰδιωτικῶ
 ζυγῶ, γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μίσματα) γ μό(να), καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι
 20 με ἀποστηναι ἀπὸ τῆς σῆς θαυμασι(ότητος)
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς χρείας πρὸ τέλους
 τοῦ εἰρημένου ἐνιαυτοῦ, εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσω,
 ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμῇ μηδὲν δέξασθαι παντελῶς
 ἐκ τοῦ παντός μου μισθοῦ, εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν
 25 ἐκβάλλουσάν με ἄνευ αἰτίας τινός,
 ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ αὐτὴν ζημιοῦσθαι τὸν πάντα
 μου μισθόν. ἔδοξεν δὲ κα[ὶ] το.τ.
 .[. . .] ςεις .ν μή με ενε
 . . της ἐργασιον οἰονδήποτε . . . [. . .
 30 τῆς ἡμῶν τέχνης, ἐφ' ᾧ μὲ κατασκευά-
 ζαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτὴν δέξασθαι τὸ ἡμισυ
 . . . τοῦ μέρος μισθόν. κύριον τὸ συνάλλαγμα[α
 ἀπλ]οῦν γραφὲν καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς) ὦμολ(όγησα). + (m. 2) Αὐρήλ[ιος
 35 ς[ερ]ῆνος ἐργάτης τῶν χρυσοχόων υἱὸς
 Ἀ[πο]λλῶ ὁ προκείμενος πεποίημαι
 τοῦ]το τὸ συνάλλαγμα ὡς πρόκ(ειται). Ψέειος
 .[.] . . [.] . ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμάτου ὄντος. +
 ὁμολογῶ δὲ ἐσχηκέναι παρὰ σοῦ ἐντεῦθεν
 ἤδη τὸν ἐμὸν μισθὸν εἰς πλήρες.
 40 (m. 3) + di'em(u) Anast(asu) eteliothh. +
 Back, downwards along the fibres:
 +
 (m. 1?) + συνάλλαγμα Cερήνου ἐργάτ(ου) τῶν χρυσοχόων υἱοῦ
 Ἀπολλῶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀξυρυγχ(ιτών) πόλ(εως).

12 ἰνδ//
36 προκ//

18 ἰδιωτικῶ
40 diemaṇastseteliothh

19 γι/χρῆνγμοδ//
42 εργατς, οξυρυγχπολ/

20 θαυμασι/

33 ἐπερ/ωμολ/

'In the consulship of our same most pious master year 5, Pharmuthi 18, indiction 6.'

'To the most admirable Theodorus, goldsmith, son of the late Serenus, from this city of the Oxyrhynchites, Aurelius Serenus, workman of the goldsmiths, son of the late Apollos, from the same city, greeting. I acknowledge by willing resolve and voluntary choice that I have contracted with your admirableness from the first of the past month of Thoth of the present sixth indiction to occupy the full position of the workman of the goldsmiths to you without blame or hesitation or condemnation and to receive from you on account of my wage for the whole year three *solidi* of gold by the private standard, total 3 gold *sol.* only, and not to be able to absent myself from your admirableness or from the same service before the end of the said year, and if I do this to receive nothing whatsoever from my whole wage, but if you eject me without any cause, you are to suffer the loss of my whole wage. It was also resolved ..., ... on condition that I do the work and that you receive the half share of this(?) as fee. The contract, written in a single copy, is binding and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Serenus, workman of the goldsmiths, son of Apollos, the aforesaid, have made this contract as aforesaid. I, Pseeius ..., wrote on his behalf since he is illiterate.'

'And I acknowledge that I received from you on the spot already my wage in full.'

(3rd hand) 'The document was completed through me, Anast(asius).'

Back. (1st hand?) 'Contract of Serenus, workman of the goldsmiths, son of Apollos, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites.'

2-3 This formula by the consulship 'of our same most pious master' omits the emperor's name, but implies it and provides enough information to fix the date by the numbers of the consular year and indiction, with month and day. Formulas like this were said by Z. Borkowski, *Inscriptions des factions* 33-4, to indicate hesitation about the authority of the ruler. That this is not so can be proved from the increased number of examples with which it is now possible to augment the list of six, one false, given by R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *CE* 56 (1981) 129:

1. + ὑπατίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου)
 ἡμῶν δεσπότου ἔτους
 β ἐπαγωμένων (1. -ομένων) γ' ἡδ(ικτίωνος) ιδ.

P. Ant. II 103. 1-3, of 26 August 580. The conversion of the date derives from P. J. Sijpesteijn and K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 26 (1977) 271-2, but there is the difficulty, pointed out by B. Kramer and D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 42 (1981) 125 n. 13, that this fourteenth indiction should not normally begin till three days later on 29 August 580. Nevertheless, I accept this inexactitude, because I cannot find a better explanation of the date clause, which I have checked again from the original. The emperor is Tiberius Constantine.

Sijpesteijn and Worp envisaged a longer formula, but the document is in fact complete or virtually complete at the top. This is clear from the cross with which line 1 begins and from the position of the beginning of the endorsement on the verso. See P. Laur. III 91 (Tav. LXVIII) for the typical placing of the endorsement, running downwards from near the top edge of the verso.

The first editors did not comment on the fact that this is a contract drawn up according to Oxyrhynchite formulas, though published in P. Ant., see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 57. One party was by origin from Oxyrhynchus and the other lived there, his origin not specified. This item is no exception to the observation that this type of consular dating comes from Oxyrhynchus only.

2. + ὑπατίας τοῦ αὐ[τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν
 δεσ[πότου plus (ἔτους) β, month, day, indiction.

P. Genova I 32 of AD 584/5. The correct formula was restored by Sijpesteijn and Worp, loc. cit., but again the cross in line 1 proves them wrong in saying that the document is substantially damaged at the top. The possible trace which they detect above line 1 on the plate (Tav. XX), if it is ink at all, may be from another cross above, just as in 3933 1. The endorsement of P. Genova 32 is not illustrated, but it is complete at the beginning, which suggests that the top edge is virtually complete. The year is given in line 10 by the Oxyrhynchite eras 261/230. The unnamed emperor is Maurice.

3. 3933 2-3 of 13 April 588 (Maurice).

4. ὑπατίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ [ὑ εὐσεβ(εστάτου)
 ἡμῶν δεσπ(ότου) ἔτ[ους ?
 Φαῶφι καθ' ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) [?

P. Laur. IV 170. 4–6 of 26 or 27 October 591–602 (Maurice). Ed. pr. gives a different date range, but the invocation to Christ in lines 1–3 shows that the earliest possible year is 591, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *CE* 56 (1981) 115. Phocas introduced a Trinitarian invocation. He acceded in November 602, so that it is certain that his new formula would have been in use in Oxyrhynchus by 26 October 603, cf. BGU II 365. 1–8 of 7 February 603, although that is from Arsinoe. The Christ formula returned to Lower Egypt under Heraclius, see Bagnall, Worp, art. cit. 120–1, but there are so far no examples from his reign of this sort of consular date.

5. **3936** of 5 May 598 (Maurice).

6. **3937** of 13 November 598 (Maurice).

7. PSI III 239 of 9 February 601 (Maurice). This is the first item in the list in *CE* 56 (1981) 129. A photograph has appeared in P. Laur. III Tav. XCI.

8. **3939** of 25 July 601 (Maurice).

9. XVI **1991** of 18 September 601 (Maurice). Cf. Borkowski, *Inscriptions des factions* 135 n. 31 for the correct date; item 2 in *CE* 56 (1981) 129. The clerk omitted αὐτοῦ in line 4: read ὑπατίας τοῦ <αὐτοῦ> εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν | δεσπότου. Ed. pr. has εὐσεβ[εστ(άτου)] but the papyrus seems to have had the usual εὐσεβ[σημων]. There is a split and some warping of the papyrus which makes the gap appear larger than it ought to be.

10. PSI III 179 of 25 December 602 (Maurice). Item 3 in *CE* 56 (1981) 129. In spite of P. Laur. III 91. 1–7 n. the indiction number seems to be perfectly acceptable as ξ = 6, with some damage to the foot, see *ibid.* Tav. XCI. The suggestion of ξ = 5 is palaeographically far from likely, and the date implied, 25 December 631, in post-consular year 20 of Heraclius, falls years after the death of the addressee, Flavius Apion III, see **3959** introd. The suggestion of γ = 3, for which see also Borkowski, *Inscriptions des factions* 136 n. 33, cannot be reconciled with any known consular year 20. Cf. *BASP* 18 (1981) 38 n. 5. Moreover, P. Grenf. II 88, from Arsinoe, is dated to 20 December 602 by the titulature of Maurice, see Bagnall, Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 60, so that allusion to Maurice on 25 December seems less incredible. However, it does seem to conflict with SB VI 9403, with a new fragment in *ZPE* 35 (1979) 140 = SB XVI 12604, which is supposed to date from 21 December 602. The date clause names Phocas, who came to the throne less than a month before. According to the *Chronicon Paschale* (SHB ed. L. Dindorf Vol. i 693–4) he was crowned in the church of St John in the Hebdomon on Friday, 23 November, and entered the capital on Sunday, 25 November, from which day the dating formulas were changed to refer to his first year. The document comes from Hermopolis, neighbour of Oxyrhynchus on the south, therefore a little further away from Constantinople. A photograph of the Vienna papyrus (G.26270 + 20634), kindly supplied by Dr Harrauer, shows that the emperor's name and ἔτους π[ρ]ώτου Χοιάκ are certain. Doubts about what follows, κε ξ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἐν Ἐρ(μοῦ πόλει), are possible, but unlikely to be resolved. We will have to await further evidence before making up our minds whether π[ρ]ώτου here might be a clerical error and the indiction number therefore different, or whether we must accept a rapid and uneven spread of the news of the accession of Phocas, cf. K. Worp, *BASP* 22 (1985) 360–1.

It should be added that Theophylactus Simocatta (VIII 13. 14) tells us that the news of the murder of Maurice (on 27 November 602: Chron. Pasch. i 694) reached Alexandria in about nine or ten days. He says (VIII 13. 7–14) that a calligrapher whom he knew, returning in the night of the 27th from a celebration of the birth of a child, saw statues which had got down from altars and were calling out what had happened to Maurice. Next day the man told the Augustal prefect of Alexandria, Peter, a relative of Simocatta himself. The prefect ordered silence, and on the ninth day a messenger from Constantinople confirmed the fact of the murder, whereupon Peter published the story of the vision. A condensed and garbled version of the same tale is given by Theophanes, *Chronographia* (SHB ed. J. Classen Vol. i 450). We cannot place much trust in such a story. However, its author judged it plausible that news could make the journey in that interval, and there is other evidence that this was, or had been, the case, see LV **3803** 1 n., referring especially to L. Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World* 152, cf. *id.* *Ships and Seamanship* 270–99 esp. 289.

It is not impossible that we should accept all these items of evidence as valid, in which case the news had

- (a) reached Alexandria c. 6.12.602
- (b) not reached Arsinoe on 20.12.602
- (c) reached Hermopolis on 21.12.602
- (d) not reached Oxyrhynchus on 25.12.602.

Two general considerations—the slower spread of news in the later period, and the season of the year, unfavourable for sailing—prejudice me against (a) and (c) and in favour of (b) and (d).

11. P. Laur. III 91 (Tav. LXVIII) of 30 November 606 (Phocas). Item 4 in *CE* 56 (1981) 129.

(11a. PSI I 61 of 8 May 609, item 5 in *CE* 56 (1981) 129, needs to be considered at this point, but is an anomaly in the series. After a Trinitarian invocation the dating clause runs:

βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν
δεσπ(ότου) ἔτους ζ' Παχῶν ιγ' ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιβ'.

Pachon 13 of regnal year 7 Phocas and of indiction 12 agree on 8 May 609. The normal regnal formula includes, after δεσπ(ότου) and before ἔτους, the words μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλ(αυρίου) Φωκᾶ τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος, cf. e.g. **3940–3948**. The omission is puzzling, but since **3948** of 9 June 609 still mentioned Phocas and SB XII 10798 of 11 June 609 implies his reign in the consular date, see next item, there is no good reason to connect it with doubts about his imperial authority. The clerk may have omitted the passage accidentally or may have regretted that he had embarked on the longer formula and decided to abbreviate it in a way rather similar to the more common nameless consular formula. I am grateful to Dr R. Pintaudi for supplying me with a photograph of PSI I 61 and for improving my readings from it by reference to the original. Ed. pr.'s text of the invocation should be revised to read as follows:

[+ εἰ]ν ὀνόματι τῆς ἁγίας ἀρχάντου καὶ
[όμο]ουσίου τριάδος πατρ(ός) καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγ(ίου) πνεύμα(τος),

which should replace item 2E in Worp's formulary *CE* 56 (1981) 114. The same formula appears here in **3941, 3942, 3948**.)

12. SB XII 10978 of 11 June 609, item 6 in *CE* 56 (1981) 129, cf. *BASP* 17 (1980) 111. There is an unfortunate conflict about the text of this papyrus, published first by R. A. Kraft and A. Tripolitis, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 51 (1968) 149–151, with Pl. I opp. p. 144. Although they took the final letter of ἔτου]c in line 5 as an abbreviation symbol for (ἔτους), they read the consular year figure correctly, in my opinion, as ζ' = (ἔκτου). R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *BASP* 17 (1980) 111, recognised ἔτου]c, but claimed that they could resolve a conflict in the date, because they could read clearly [ἔτου]c ζ''. Comparison with the zeta in the day number shows that this is impossible. The clause reads:

ὅ]πατίας |⁴ τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπ(ότου) |⁵ [ἔτου]c
ζ' Παῦνι ιζ' ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιβ'.

The nameless consular formula shows that the papyrus is from Oxyrhynchus. Payni 17 of indiction 12 is 11 June 609, in the seventh regnal year of Phocas. According to Theophanes, *Chronographia* A.M. 6096 incip. (ed. J. Classen, SHB i 451), Phocas took his consulship in December of the seventh indiction, that is, December 603, which is in his second regnal year. If the clerks of Oxyrhynchus followed the practice of assimilating the starts of the regnal, indictional and consular years of Phocas, as they did for Maurice, see above pp. 52–7, consular year 6 would be correct for this example too. We very probably have confirmation of this in **3948**, which has a date by regnal year 7, consular year 6(?), Payni 15, indiction 12, i.e. 9 June 609. The damage to the consular figure is severe, but in my judgement ζ = 6 is correct. Moreover, better confirmation is available from P. Laur. III 91, item 11 above, the only other example of the unnamed consular formula from the reign of Phocas, dated consular year 4, Choeac 4, indiction 10 = 30 November

606. Therefore the following table is likely to cover ordinary date clauses from Oxyrhynchus:

	regnal	indiction	consular
602/3	1	6	
603/4	2	7	1
604/5	3	8	2
605/6	4	9	3
606/7	5	10	4
607/8	6	11	5
608/9	7	12	6
609/10	8	13	7

Borkowski's discussion of SB 10978 (*Inscriptions des factions* 135 and n. 30) is confusing and confused. At first he seems to accept the consular figure as 7, perhaps tacitly following Bagnall and Worp, and then he compares the *post*-consular year 2 = AD 605 in BGU I 3 (μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν κτλ.) with the consular year 6 = AD 609 in SB 10978 (ὑπατίαις κτλ.). BGU I 3 is itself a problem; it is from Arsinoe and might possibly be counting by consular, that is, Julian years, with 603 correctly as the year of the consulship, 604 as year 1 after the consulship, and so on. This serves as another warning that the scheme above is valid for Oxyrhynchus only.

Now that there are so many examples of the nameless consular formula scattered over three reigns and interspersed with longer formulas which specify the emperors, see references in R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 126–8, it is no longer plausible to take any of them as evidence of hesitation over the authority of the emperor in the way argued by Borkowski, op. cit. 17–18, 33–4, 127–136. The evidence for an interregnum is limited to other papyri in which no regnal or consular numbers are used and no emperor's name is specified, the year being identified by eras or indiction only; these indisputably reflect the absence or weakness of imperial authority, see 3949–53.

Some mystery still surrounds the nameless consular formula. Evidently the basic reason for it was to save the clerks much work, but the seeming illogicality of referring to 'our same ... master' without a preceding name still surprises us. My guess is that some records of contracts in Oxyrhynchus were organized in files by date and in such a way that it needed only a first item or a heading to specify the emperor's name.

Questions remain. Was this the practice of a public record office or of one notarial office or more? R. S. Bagnall, *BASP* 20 (1983) 79, tentatively asked, 'Could the Apion clan be in some way responsible?', and suggested that it might be so. Of the twelve documents listed above only four have an explicit Apion connection, nos. 5, 8, 9, 10, since 11a (PSI I 61) is not a genuine example; neither party is an Apion and there is no other indication of an Apion connection in five, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 7; three are too damaged to be sure that there was no indication, nos. 6, 11, and 12, although it is clear that they were at least not addressed to an Apion. This distribution may tell against Bagnall's theory, but he could plausibly argue that the influence of the Apion household was so pervasive that it affected the practice of the notaries even in matters unconnected with the Apions. It remains an attractive theory, although at present it rests on probability only.

On the same page Bagnall brought into this context P. Rainer Cent. 125 (pp. 429–31), which seems to be complete and is dated at the foot ἡ αὐτὴ ὑπατία (without an earlier definition) Μεσορῆ κς ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) θ', 'which', he said, 'must surely be 19. viii. 605'. In ed. pr. lines 1–2 run as follows:

+ Φλ(αουῖω) Στρατηγίω τῷ ἐνδοξ(οτάτῳ) vacat
[τῆς] ἀγία[ς ἐ]κκλ(ησίας) Μέμφ(εως) ἐν κ(υρί)ῳ χαίριν.

The translation runs: 'Flavius Strategius, dem *gloriosissimus* ... der heiligen Kirche zu Memphis, im Herrn Grüsse', which is ambiguous. It is evident that this *uir gloriosissimus* occupied no position in the church. If anything is omitted, it might be the name and title of a church official, but space (see Tafelband, Taf. 96) seems too short for [τῆς] and suggests [ἡ] ἀγία [ἐ]κκλ(ησία). The first word of the report, εὐαγγελίζομαι, may seem incompatible, but we can compare the similar report of the rise of the Nile beginning with the same word, XVI 1830 3, which is endorsed πιττάκ(ιον) τῶν πραγμ(α)τεω(ν) Τακόνα

ἐνεκ(α) τ[οῦ ὕδατος (?)]²⁷ α ἰνδ(ικτίωνος). The restoration is doubtful, but the doubt is not important for the point that the report of a group or organization begins with a first person singular verb without specification of any single representative. The provenance of the Rainer papyrus is given as Memphis. Bagnall says without discussion that the document is Arsinoite. He cannot have assumed that this Memphis was the Arsinoite village of that name, for a report on the progress of the rise of the Nile should come from a place on the main river; the Memphite metropolis, well known as the site of a Nilometer, is very likely as the source of the information, see D. Bonneau, *Le fisc et le Nil* 25–7, 47, but not at all likely as the archaeological provenance of the papyrus, because of its high water-table. The recipient of the report is quite likely to be the person known as ‘pseudo-Strategius III’, see K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 56 (1984) 114–116, and he is known chiefly from Arsinoite and Heracleopolite documents between AD 600 and 616 or 617, although there is now earlier evidence from Oxyrhynchus, see 3935 7 n. In the Heracleopolite nome information on the rise of the Nile would be available locally, whereas in the Arsinoite it would have to be sought from elsewhere, so that an Arsinoite provenance is at least plausible. An Oxyrhynchite provenance is not likely for a document in the Vienna collection, see CPR V 1 introd., and XVI 1830 itself shows that in Oxyrhynchus there was no need to seek news of the rise of the flood from Memphis. Bagnall’s suggestions for the provenance and the date are therefore entirely plausible, but the datings by an unnamed imperial consul are so far confined to Oxyrhynchus, so that I am reluctant to associate the rather different use of ἡ αὐτὴ ὑπατεία here with them. It seems to me more likely that ‘the same consulship’ was connected with a date given in the first of a series of reports. The Nile normally began to rise in mid-July and this report covers 16–19 August. It may well have had about five or six predecessors.

(On this last point a similar conclusion was reached independently by G. Fantoni, CPR XIV p. 43. She also suggests that the ninth indiction might be AD 575/6 and the addressee therefore Strategius II. According to my view he was dead by AD 565/6, see LV 3804 introd. pp. 97–8, but the problems surrounding him are still tangled.)

4 θανμασιωτάτω. Cf. LVI 3869 14 n. It usually indicates modest rank in officials. A master goldsmith would presumably be among the richest tradesmen.

6–7 ἐργάτης τῶν χρυσοχόων. Cf. 13–14, 34, 42. This odd form of words might suggest that the workman had some relationship with the guild of goldsmiths as well as with the individual master goldsmith for whom he was to work for one year. On the other hand there is a similar phrase in XVI 1894 12, *μικθίου τῶν προνοητῶν*, although the contract is between the hired clerk and a single estate steward. It seems unlikely that there was a guild of *προνοηταί*. Probably the plural is generalizing.

11–12 παρελθόντος μηνὸς Θώθ. Since the contract is dated in Pharmuthi, we might have expected to recognize here the immediately preceding month of Phamenoth, but Thoth seems to be rightly read. It seems that the contract was backdated by over six months to the beginning of the year. What exactly this signifies is not clear to me, but cf. CPR VII 51. 27–31 (AD 629 or 644) for a lease backdated to run *ἀπὸ νευμηνίας τοῦ παρελθόντος μην(ος) Φαρμούθι τῆς παρελθούσης δευτ[(έρης)] ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)*. Note the postscript (38–9), which acknowledges receipt of the agreed salary in full.

24–5 The grammar is defective, but this reading of the remains is supported by P. Med. II 48. 16–17 (AD 549, Oxyrhynchus) [ε]ἰ δὲ καὶ ἐκβάλλοντά με ἄνευ αἰτίας τινὸς καὶ καταγνώσεως, ὑποκείσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ ἱσῶ προστίμῳ (cf. BL VII 103). Similar sense with better grammar occurs in I 140 (= W. Chr. 438) 26–9.

27–32 This may have been a clause allowing the employee to undertake outside work. No good parallel has been found.

29 ἐργασιον seems clear to read; it may be a phonetic spelling of ἐργασιῶν, but that offers no immediate solution to the difficulties.

32 At the beginning a possible reading is *τοῦτρου*, which suits the grammar, but in the damaged context it is not clear what it would mean.

36–7 The absence of the status indication Aurelius is noticeable. It is possible that the unread word in 37 was an ecclesiastical title.

38–9 This important clause seems to have been forgotten even till after the amanuensis had added his own declaration. The ink looks blacker than that in 33–7, but the sloping hand looks more like that of the amanuensis than that of the first clerk.

40 For the notary see J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* 78 with Tafel 40 (Oxy. 1. 2. 2). The writing is extremely rapid. Luckily their listed examples of this Anastasius where the name is written in full show the same hand.

et eliothh. Cf. 3936 35, 3942 36(?), 3952 58-9, 3955 28, 3958 40. The process, called *completio* in Latin, is explained by M. Amelotti, *Alle Origini del Notariato Italiano* 34-5, 57. The notary had to read the text of the document to the parties and satisfy himself that it corresponded with their intentions before appending this subscription, by which he assumed responsibility for its correctness.

On the social status and pay of notaries see A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* i 515-6, ii 1218 (nn. 105-6).

41 These endorsements are usually written on a larger scale and in a style noticeably more formal than the body of the contract, but it has been tentatively assumed that in each case the same clerk wrote both the contract and the endorsement, as seems inherently likely.

3934. FRAGMENT OF LEASE

62 6B.53/C(1-2)b

10 × 11.5 cm

14 August 588

This papyrus has a full dating clause by regnal year and consular year of Maurice, together with month and day and indiction. Like XLIV 3204 of 2 January of the same year (see *ZPE* 26 (1977) 284) and P. Lond. V 1897 of October/November, it makes a good contrast with the short formula of 3933 of 13 April, helping to suggest that the short formula had no political significance, cf. 3933 2-3 n. Another point of interest in the dating clause is that the clerk did not advance the regnal year number on the anniversary of Maurice's crowning, which was the previous day, see 1-6 n.

The lessee was a messenger, *cursor*, on the staff of the governor of Arcadia. Oxyrhynchus is listed as the metropolis of the province by George of Cyprus, *Descriptio Orbis Romani* (ed. Teubn.) 745, cf. LI 3636 2 n. It seems unlikely that a minor civil servant would take agricultural land on lease, so the property, of which the description is lost with the major part of the document, was probably in the city itself, cf. XVI 1958, 1965.

Π βασιλείας τοῦ [θειο]τάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου)
 ἡμῶν δεσπό(του) μεγίστου ἐργερέτου Φλ(αουῖου)
 Τιβερίου Μαυρικίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου
 καὶ Αὐτοκρ(άτορος) ἔτους 5⁻, ὑπατίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 5 εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπό(του) ἔτους 6, Μεσορῇ κα⁻,
 (vac.) ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) 5.
 τῷ θαυμασιωτάτῳ Ἀγαστασίῳ νιῷ
 τοῦ μακαρίου Γεωργίου ἀπὸ τῆς Ὁξύρυγχ(ιτῶν)

πόλεως Θεόδωρος κούρσορι τῆς
 10 ἡγεμονικῆς τάξεως τα[ύ]της τῆς
 Ἀρκάδων ἐπαρχίας νῆϛ [το]ῦ μακαρ(ίου)
 Ἡλίου[ν ἂ] πὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χ[α]ίρειν.
 ἐκουσίως ἐπιδέχομ[αι μισθώσα]σθαι . . .
] . . . [. . .] . το . . . [

Back, downwards along the fibres:

15 (m. 1)? + μίσθ(ωσις) Θεοδώρου κο[ύρ]σο[ρος] ...

1 ευσεβς	2 δεσπς, φλς	4 αυτοκρ/, ὑπατίας; l. ὑπατείας	5 ευσεβς, δεσπς	6 ἰνδ/
7 υἱω	8 οξυρνηχς	9 l. κούρσωρ	11 l. υἱός; μακαρ/	15 μισθς

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Tiberius Mauricius, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, year 6, in the consulship of our same most pious master year 5, Mesore 21, indiction 6.'

'To the most admirable Anastasius son of the late George from the city of the Oxyrhynchites, Theodorus courier of the praesidial office of this province of Arcadians, son of the late Elias, from the same city, greeting. Willingly I offer to take on lease ...'

Back. (1st hand?). 'Lease of Theodorus courier ...'

1 The Christian symbol is the 'monogrammatic cross', see LVI **3871** 1–2 n.

1–6 Maurice became Caesar on 5 August 582 and Augustus on 13 August, see Chron. Pasch. (SHB ed. L. Dindorf i p. 690). This document, therefore, would appear to have been written on the second day or the tenth day of his seventh regnal year, but the clerk has not advanced the regnal year number. Tiberius Constantine did not die till 14 August, the day after he had crowned Maurice, and his funeral took place on the next day. It may be possible that Maurice chose to celebrate one of these or some later day as his *dies imperii*, as some sources suggest, see N. Lewis, *AJP* 60 (1939) 415 n. 3, but I suspect that the clerks or authorities of Oxyrhynchus returned to the traditional New Year's Day, 1 Thoth, for their dating formulas, see above pp. 52–7, esp. 53–4.

7 θαυμασιωτάτω Cf. **3933** 4 n.

9 κούρσορι (l. κούρσωρ). Cf. A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* i 582, where he takes them to be messengers, 590–1 and 593, where he classes them among 'subclerical grades'; cf. XVI **1901** 58–74 for an interesting example of one representative's low standard of literacy. For papyrus references see S. Daris, *Lessico latino* 65; add CPR VII 26. 2, 39, 40, 43; XIV 39. 20, P. Vindob. Tandem 35. 12. In addition J. Diethart, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 190, has drawn attention to two places where the title has been misread or misinterpreted as a personal name, Stud. Pal. III 553. 2, P. Cair. Masp. III 67288 iv 31. He equates *cursor* with παραπομπός, but this is an escort for tax payments in money and kind, Latin *prosecutor*, see LI **3635** 3 n.; note the association of παραπομποί with προσεκουτουρίαι in CPR VII 26. 17–22, 31–35. In this context the Greek for *cursor* is ταχυδρόμος, see CGL II 452. 19, III 444. 71; cf. XXXI **2561** 20 (4th cent.), P. Cair. Masp. II 67131. 5, 14, 15, 17 (here τ. τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς τάξεως; 6th cent.).

13 . . . [ἀπ[ό] would suit, introducing the date from which the lease was to run, cf. XVI **1958**, **1965**.

3935. FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT

6 1B.23/B(d)

15 × 9 cm

6 March 591

This text becomes the latest dated example of a contract without an invocation, displacing XVI **1990** of 12 January 591, see *CE* 56 (1981) 115. The earliest invocation on papyrus remains P. Erlangen 67 of 17 September 591.

It is addressed to the estate banker of the household of a Strategius, who can only be the so-called 'pseudo-Strategius III', and this is the earliest mention of him by some nine years, see 7 n.

ⲡ βασιλείας [τ]οῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν
 δεσπότου μεγίστου [.] εὐεργέτου Φλαουίου Μανρικίου
 Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰονίου Ἀυγούστου καὶ Ἀυτοκράτορος
 ἔτους θ⁻, ὑπατίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου
 5 ἡμῶν δεσπ(ότου) ἔτους η⁻, Φαμενώθ ι⁻, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) θ⁻, (ἔτους) ςξζ̄ ϸλς̄.
 τῷ αἰδεσίμῳ Ἰούστῳ τραπεζίτῃ τοῦ ἐνδόξου
 οἴκου τοῦ ὑπερφυστάτου Στρατηγίου νίῳ τοῦ
 τῆς μακαρίας μνήμης Κυρίκου ἀπὸ ταύτης

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) + ἀπόδειξις [

2 φλαουίου 3 1. αἰωνίου 4 ᾠπατίας; 1. ὑπατείας 5 δεσπς̄?, ἡ, ἰ̄ ἰνδ/θ̄ ϸ ςξζ̄ ϸλς̄
 7 νίῳ 9 ἀποδειξ̄

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Mauricius Tiberius, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 9, in the consulship of our same most pious master year 8, Phamenoth 10, indiction 9, year 267 (and) 236.'

'To the worshipful Justus, banker of the glorious household of the most extraordinary Strategius, son of Cyricus of blessed memory, from this (city) ...'

Back. (1st hand?) 'Certificate ...'

1 The Christian symbol is the 'monogrammatic cross', see LVI **3871** 1-2 n.

1-5 All the data agree for 6 March 591, see General Introduction p. 54, Table II. On the order of Maurice's names see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt* 64-5, cf. P. Lond. V 1727. 1 n. This becomes the earliest Oxyrhynchite example of the change from Fl. Tiberius Mauricius to Fl. Mauricius Tiberius.

6 αἰδεσίμῳ. Cf. O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate* 1-2.

The estate cashier is new, see the list of Apion bankers by J. Gascou, *CE* 47 (1972) 244 n. 3. That list appears to give a straightforward succession into which Justus would fit after Phoebammon (XIX **2243**(a) and (b); AD 590). However, several of these are attested only as bankers of an ἐνδοξος οἶκος. Now we begin to see that the series may not be a unit, because this Strategius seems to have had a 'glorious household' of his own, and he is attested now from 591 to at least 615, probably longer, see next note,

contemporaneously with Flavius Apion III. Phoebammon is linked with Flavia Praejecta and Apion III, so Justus is not necessarily his successor. This Strategius had a different banker, Belisarius son of Cosmas, in 604, but that document, P. Erlangen 73, relates to Heracleopolis, so that he is not necessarily, or even probably, a successor of Justus.

7 τοῦ ὑπερφυεστάτου Στρατηγίου. Since there is no indication that this Strategius is dead and since **3936** of 5 May 598 is addressed directly to a Flavius Strategius πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυεστάτῳ ὑπάτῳ γεουχούντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα, we must identify both with the 'pseudo-Strategius III', contemporary of Flavius Apion III, first distinguished by R. Rémondon, *CE* 41 (1966) 178–9, see K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 56 (1984) 114–16, J. Gascou, Collège de France, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 70–71 and n. 392, G. Fantoni, *CPR XIV* 9 with Appendix pp. 41–44. He is mostly known from Heracleopolite and Arsinoite documents. Hitherto only **XVI 1991** of AD 601 has attested his estate in Oxyrhynchus. He is now seen in action about nine years earlier than was previously known.

It may be worth suggesting that P. Wash. Univ. I 26 is probably not addressed to this Flavius Strategius, even though his name would fit the editor's estimate of the extent of the gap better than that of Flavius Apion III. The formula clearly indicates that the intermediary was Menas, οἰκέτης, as in all Apion contracts of the main branch from 523 to 620, cf. Gascou, op. cit. 71 n. 392. I doubt if we need even suppose that the line was indented, as suggested by K. A. Worp, *Bibl. Or.* 39 (1982) 565. Counting letters is useful and necessary, but it cannot account for everything in handwritten documents.

We do not know whether there really was a succession of οἰκέται called Menas from AD 523 to 620, cf. **3959** 6–8 n., or merely a fossilization of the formula, see I. F. Fikhman, *Akten des XIII Papyrologenkongresses* 120, but the fact that this traditional formula continued in use for Flavius Apion III indicates that he was in the direct line of succession to the Apion estates centred at Oxyrhynchus. Oxyrhynchite texts addressed to this Flavius Strategius mention two intermediaries, each with the titles of κόμης and διοικητής, namely Flavius Apollos (**3936**; AD 598) and Flavius Dorotheus (**XVI 1991**; AD 601). This indicates that Strategius, although the present document suggests that he may have been the elder, was not in the direct line of succession at Oxyrhynchus. His parentage is still uncertain. Given his name, titles, and the distribution of his estates, we cannot reasonably doubt that he was a member of the Apion family, cf. R. S. Bagnall, *BASP* 20 (1983) 79–80.

9 ἀπόδειξις(ις). Among these contracts the word is used particularly of receipts, cf. **3936** 26, 28, 33, 36.

3936. PRIEST'S RECEIPT FOR SALARY

65 6B.38/C(9–10)a

9 × 34.5 cm

5 May 598

The dating formula is again of the short type by an unnamed imperial consul, see **3933** 2–3 n., where it is item 5 in the list.

The addressee was 'pseudo-Strategius III', see **3935** 7 n. A priest who was the steward (οἰκονόμος) of a church dedicated to a St Alexandra acknowledges the receipt of eleven artabas of wheat as part of his salary. The eleven artabas also constituted part of a customary annual donation to the church by Strategius.

There is a sheet join close to the left edge of the document, showing that the writing runs along the fibres of the recto of the original roll. The well preserved top

and bottom edges seem to indicate that the roll was the same height as the document, c. 34.5 cm.

- + ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ
 δεσπότου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ
 σωτῆρος ἡμῶν. ὑπατίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπό(του) ἔτους ιε⁻,
 5 Παχῶν ι, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) α.
 Φλαουῖω Στρατηγίῳ τῷ πανευφ(ήμῳ)
 καὶ ὑπερφυεστάτῳ ὑπάτῳ
 γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρ(ᾷ)
 Ὁξυ[ρ]υγχιτῶν πόλει διὰ σοῦ Φλ(αουῖου)
 10 Ἀπολλῷ τοῦ μεγαλοπρε(πεστάτου) κόμε(τος) καὶ
 διοικητοῦ αὐτοῦ. Γεώργιος
 πρεσβύτερος τῆς ἀγίας
 ἐκκλησίας καὶ οἰκονόμος
 τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας
 15 Ἀλεξάνδρας ἔσχον
 παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείας
 διὰ τῶν αὐτῇ προσηκόντων
 ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ὀψωνίου ἐξ ἔθους
 διδομέ(νου) ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγίας προσφορ(ᾶς)
 20 ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμβολῆς δευτέρας
 ἐπινεμήσεως cíτου
 καγκέλλῳ ἀρτάβας
 ἔνδεκα, τὰς καὶ δοθείσας μοι
[.] . . .[.]μ() Παμουθίου
 25 . . () Ἀρποκρᾶ, γί(νονται) cí(του) καγκ(έλλῳ)
 (ἀρτάβαι) ια⁻, καὶ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν
 τῆς ὑποδοχῆς ταύτην
 πεποίημαι τὴν ἀπόδειξ(ιν),
 ἥτις κυρ(ία) οὐσα ἀπλῇ γραφ(εῖσα)
 30 καὶ ἐπερωτηθ(εῖς) ὡμολόγησα.
 (m. 2) † Γεώργ[ι]ος ἐλέω θ(εο)ῦ πρε(σβύτερος) καὶ οἰκο(νόμος)
 τῆς ἀγίας Ἀλεξάνδρας στιχῇ με
 ἡ ἀπόδειξ(ις) τῶν ια⁻ ἀρταβ(ῶν)

τοῦ κύτου ὡς πρόκ(ειται).

(m. 3) 35 + *di' emu Helia eteliothh*.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) + ἀπόδειξ(ις) Γεωργίου πρεσβυτέρ(ου) ἀπὸ τῆς Ὁξυρυγχιτ[ῶ]ν
π[όλ]εως.

2 ἱησου	3 1. ὑπατείας	4 ευσεβ[ς], δεσπ[ς], ιε̅	5 ἰνδ/	6 φλαουῖω, πανευφ/	8 λαμπρ/
9 φλ[ς]	10 μεγαλοπρ[ς]/κομ[ς]	19 διδομ[ς], προσφορ/	25 γι/σι/καγκ/	26 —ιᾱ	28 αποδειξ/
29 κυρ/, γραφ/	30 επερωτηθ[ς]	31 θυπρ[ς], οικος/	32 1. στοιχεῖ μοι	33 αποδειξ/;	
1. ἀπόδειξις; τᾱαρταβ/	34 προκ/	36 αποδειξ/; πρεσβυτερ/			

'In the name of the lord and master Jesus Christ, our god and saviour. In the consulship of our same most pious master year 15, Pachon 10, indiction 1.'

'To Flavius Strategius, the most renowned and most extraordinary consul, landowner here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through you, Flavius Apollos, the most magnificent *comes* and his administrator.'

'I, George, priest of the holy church and steward of the holy church of Alexandra, received from your excellency through your people, from my salary delivered by custom in respect of the holy donation, in respect of the lading of the second indiction, eleven artabas of wheat by *cancellus* measure, which are those delivered to me ... Pamuthius ... Harpocras ..., total: wheat by *cancellus* measure art. 11, and as certification of the receipt I have made this certificate, which is binding and written in one copy, and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.'

(2nd hand) 'I, George, by the mercy of god priest and steward of St Alexandra—the certificate of the 11 artabas of wheat as aforesaid is satisfactory to me.'

(3rd hand) 'The document was completed through me, Elias.'

Back. (1st hand?) 'Certificate of George, priest, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites.'

3–5 Cf. introd. para. 1.

6 Cf. introd. para. 2.

9–11 Cf. **3935** 7 n., A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* ii 789–90, according to which there would have been a number of *dioecetae* under an ἀντιγεωύχος (*vice dominus*, id. ii 1323 n. 47).

10 μεγαλοπρε(πестάτου) κόμ(ε)τος. Cf. O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate* 28–9, LVI **3870** 4 n.

13 οἰκονόμος. Cf. E. Wipszycka, *Les ressources ... des églises* (Pap. Brux. 10) 136–41.

14–15 Cf. 32. The church of St Alexandra is not known. The fact that it had an οἰκονόμος suggests wealth, see Wipszycka, op. cit. 137, and allows a presumption that it was in the city rather than in the country. The saint may be the fourth century Alexandrian virgin who shut herself in a tomb for ten years and died there, see Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* 5. I owe this suggestion to Dr Maria Sirivianou.

19 ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγίας προσφορ(ᾶς). Cf. Wipszycka, op. cit. 64–92 (Ch. III. Les Oblations), esp. 78–85 (analysis of papyrus texts).

24–5 We expect a simple statement about the intermediary, cf. XVI **1898** 26–9 τὰς καὶ δοθείας μοι διὰ τοῦστον τοῦ αἰδεσίμου χαρτουλαρίου τῆς ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείας. In 24 the mu with a mark of abbreviation rather suggests ὀνό(ματος), which might perhaps be introducing the name of one of George's predecessors. One might guess something on the lines of ἐξ ἐθ[ρ]υ[ς] ὁ[ν]δ[ρ]μ(ατος) Παμουθίου δι(ὰ) Ἀρποκρά, 'which are those delivered to me by custom in the name of Pamuthius by agency of Harpocras', but the meagre traces may not be compatible with this version. Ἀρποκρά might also be a place name, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 34; it is not ἀπό before it, but nor does υἱ(οῦ) look suitable.

35 *di' emu*. There is one minim too few for *diemu*, and one too many for *diem(u)*. There seems to be no mark of abbreviation.

Helia. Elias is a new notary, i.e. unknown to J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im Byzantinischen Ägypten*.

eteliothh. Cf. **3933** 40 and n., **3942** 36(?), **3952** 58–9, **3955** 28, **3958**, 40.

3937. FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT

53 1B.26(D)/A(11)a

9.5 × 6 cm

13 November 598

For this further example of the short dating formula by an unnamed imperial consul see **3933** 2–3 n., item 6 in the list. Note too that although it refers to the same Julian year as the previous item, the consular year number has increased by one, helping to confirm the view of the dating system under Maurice put forward above, see General Introduction pp. 52–7 and Table II (p. 54).

+ ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπό(του)
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος
 ἡμῶν. ὑπατίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου
 ἡμῶν δεσπό(του) ἔτους ις⁻, Ἀθὺρ ιζ⁻, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)
 5 δευτέρα[ς.] (vac.) [

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) ⲡ γρα(μματαῖον) Σαρα[

1 δεσπ^ς

2 ἱησouv

3 ὑπατίας; 1. ὑπατείας

4 δεσπ^ς, ἰνδ//

6 γρα/a

‘In the name of the lord and master Jesus Christ, our god and saviour. In the consulship of our same most pious master year 16, Hathyr 17, second indiction.’

Back. ‘Contract of Sara ...’

6 Perhaps γρα(αμματαῖον) Ἀσὰρ [is not an impossibility, cf. P. Lond. IV 1556. 7, but the first alpha does not ligature to the sigma and this unique name is the only suitable one available from the dictionaries.

3938. FRAGMENT OF LOAN

62 6B.53/C(1–2)a

12 × 15 cm

7 March 601

In this document of 7 March 601 the full dating clause makes a good contrast with PSI III 239 of 9 February 601 and with **3939** of 25 July of the same year and helps to indicate that the short formula in those documents had no political significance, see **3933** 2–3 n.

+ ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπ[(ότου)] Ἰησοῦ Χριστο[ύ] τοῦ
 θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν. βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου
 καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπ(ότου) <μεγίστου> εὐεργέτου Φλαουῖου
 Μαυρικίου Νέου Τιβερίου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγο[ύ]στου
 5 καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους ιθ⁻, ὑπ[α]τίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ

8 θαυμασιωτάτω. Cf. **3933** 4 n.

It seems that it was thought more polite to address Theophilus(?) as the grandson of Apollos rather than as the son of his father or mother, as is usual.

9 αἰδεσίμου. Cf. **3935** 6 n.

On *chartularii* see E. R. Hardy, *Large Estates* 94–5.

10–11 A Justus son of Eudaemon occurs in XVIII **2195** 98, 102. He was a *comes* and therefore could well have had the title of ἐνδοξότατος, see O. Hornickel, *Ehren- u. Rangprädikate* 8–11, corresponding to τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης here, cf. **3958** 12–13 n., on ἐλαβέστατος/τῆς ἐλαβοῦς μνήμης. The date of **2195** is very probably AD 576/7, cf. LV **3804** introd. p. 97.

An ἐνδοξότατος Ἰούστος, who could also be the same man as here, occurs in XVI **2040** 11, cf. 13. This text has been assigned to c. AD 560–570, see J. Gasco, *CE* 47 (1972) 250–2. Heirs of an ἐνδοξότατος Ἰούστος appear in XVI **2020** 18. This text has been assigned by Gasco, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 48, to the 580s.

If all these data really belong together, this Justus son of Eudaemon, a *gloriosissimus comes*, flourished c. 560–580, dying in or after 576/7. After his death his property, or part of it, was not divided among his heirs but was administered as an economic unit, in whose interests we do not yet know. On the institution of the οἶκοι see J. Gasco, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 1–89, esp. 5–19, 28–37, 60.

12 Apa Sion is a saint's name, cf. CPR IX 68. 3 n., J. Muiser, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Copte* 9 (1943) 79–92.

13 The place should be an Oxyrhynchite village. Τακ- would suit, but it does not seem possible to reconcile Τακόνα with the rest; Τόκα will not suit.

15 ἐγγυητρί[ac. Cf. 25, which is even more damaged. This form was known only from Stud. Pal. XX 135. 6 (AD 511), see LSJ s.v., where the reference is misprinted; add now SB VIII 9770. 10, P. Rainer Cent. 107. 4, cf. 95. 6, 10. The rarity of the form may show how rare it was for a woman to give surety, but it seems clear that the important point was financial standing and that women were not barred because of their sex.

15–18 If the readings in this much damaged passage are correct, the couple's guarantor was the daughter of the wife from a previous marriage.

16 αὐτοῦς. We expect ἡμᾶς.

20 Restore something like [τ]ῇ εἴ [θ]α[νμασι(ότητι) καί].

24 At the end restore something like ἀπὸ . . . καὶ τῆς συμβίου αὐτοῦ Θέκλας θυγατρὸς, cf. 13–14, but the details are uncertain.

25 Some version of ἐγγυητρίας is required, but the traces are faint and confused. Possibly the word was abbreviated, e.g. to ἐγγυητρ[ι].

3939. FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT

53 1B.26(D)/F(5)a

12.5 × 5.5 cm

25 July 601

The dating is again in the short formula by a nameless consul, cf. **3938** introd. and **3933** 2–3 n., where it is item 8 in the list. The address is to Flavius Apion III, whose titles here lack *patricius*. Comparison with other dated documents indicates that he received the patriciate only later, under Phocas, see 4–5 n.

The papyrus breaks off before the nature of the contract appears. On the back only a few illegible traces of ink remain from the usual endorsement. Stuck to the back at the top left corner is a strip of coarse papyrus which has been tied into a knot. Somewhat similar strips were used to keep documents together, rather as we would use a paper-clip, but these pass through vertical slits near the top left corners, see XXXIII **2673**, L **3574** introd., LV pp. xvii–xviii (under **2855**), cf. W. Schubart, *Papyri Graecae Berolinenses* 36a. In the present case the knotted strip is adhering to the document rather than passing through it, but it is not clear whether it was deliberately

stuck, although its position suggests that it was, and it is not clear how the knot functioned. Schubart suggested that his example was hung from a nail, but this does not seem to offer an attractive or plausible solution to the problem.

+ ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ
 θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν. ὑπατίας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν
 δεσπότου ἔτους ιη⁻, Μεσορῆ α⁻, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) τετάρτης.
 Φλαουίῳ Ἀπίων[ι] τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυεστάτ[ω]
 5 ἀπὸ ὑπά[των γεουχοῦντι] καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπ[ρᾷ Ὁξυρυγχ(ιτῶν)]
 πόλει δ[ιὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου ἔπερ]ωτῶντος κα[ὶ]
 . [

1 Ἰησου 2 ὑπατίας; 1. ὑπατείας; εὐσεβς 3 ιη, αἰνδ/ 4 φλαουίῳ, ὑπερφυεστατ[ω]
 5 υπα[των]

‘In the name of the lord and master Jesus Christ, our god and saviour. In the consulship of our same most pious master year 18, Mesore 1, fourth indiction.’

‘To Flavius Apion, the most renowned and most extraordinary consular, landowner here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, slave, putting the formal question and ...’

4–5 For Flavius Apion III see J. Gascou, *Collège de France, Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 68–71. Gascou says that he is ‘toujours consul honoraire et patrice’ (p. 70, n. 387), but it is fairly clear that that *πατρικίῳ* is lacking here and examination of the references given in Gascou’s note, together with the new items in this volume, shows that his titles vary in a significant way. The first document in which he appears as sole owner of his estates is XVIII **2202** (27 March 593: date as corrected in *ZPE* 26 (1977) 273; the document is incomplete at the top and will have had an invocation of Christ, see *CE* 56 (1981) 116). There he is simply τῷ π[α]νευφήμῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων. He was of consular rank by descent. In a second stage he became τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυεστάτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων: I **201** = P. Lond. III 779 (27.9.593), PSI I 60 (8.10.595), XXVII **2478** (27.11.595), P. Wash. Univ. I 26 (1.10.596; cf. **3935** 7 n.), PSI I 59 (3.11.596), **3939** (25.7.601), PSI III 179 (25.12.602?, see **3933** 2–3 n., item 10). It is not yet clear to me whether the addition of ὑπερφυεστάτος represents an increase in dignity. In an earlier period such ranks as the egregiate and the perfectissimate were conferred by imperial grants, see F. G. B. Millar, *JRS* 73 (1983) 90–91, and this may still have been the case here. However, even the precise Latin equivalents of *πανεύφημος* and *ὑπερφυεστάτος* are not certainly known, see O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate* 30–31, 32, P. Koch, *Die Byzantinischen Beamtentiteln* 89–93, 94–5, much less their exact hierarchical significance. Moreover, Apion III could be referred to as *πανεύφημος πατρικίος* in a period when other documents also have ὑπερφυεστάτος, see below.

The next and final stage in Apion III’s titles is τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυεστάτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ πατρικίῳ: **3941** (27.12.604–25.1.605), **3943?** (15.11.606: restored), **3944–3945** (both 16.11.606), **3946** (18.11.606), **3947** (28.10.–26.11.606), PSI I 61 (8.5.609), **3950** (25.6.610), **3951** (21.8.610), **3952** (before 29.8.610: restored), **3953** (23.9.610?), I **138** (610/11), **3956** (1.10.611), XVI **1981** (25.10.612), I **139** (26.10.612), PSI I 62 (27.9.613), XXIV **2420** (? 2–3.614: see **3954** 3–7 n.; restored), **3958** (26.4.–25.5.614), VI **999** (+BL VII 133; 617), P. Iand. III 49 (5.7.619). Slightly anomalous items in this period, AD 604–619, are **3954** (12.2.611: τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου τοῦ πανευφήμου πατρικίου Ἀπίωνος ταύτης τῆς ἄνω Κυνοπολ(?) and **3957** (21.2.612?: ... οἴκῳ Ἀπίωνος τοῦ πανευφήμου πατρικίου). Seemingly more anomalous is XVI **1979** 5 (19.8.614: Φλ(αουίῳ) Ἀπίωνι [ἀπὸ ὑπάτων] πατρικί[ω]). A photograph of **1979**, now itself in the Cairo Museum, confirms that the space is too short for the usual long titulature. The two preceding items (**3954**, **3957**) suggest that a more likely restoration would be [τῷ πανευφήμῳ], possibly abbreviated as *πανευφ* with a stroke through the descender of the phi.

The patriciate was revived by Constantine and converted from an inherited status into a personal distinction, see A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* i 528, cf. T. D. Barnes, *Phoenix* 29 (Toronto, 1975) 169. It seems very likely from the sequence of dates that it was Phocas who conferred it on Apion III, especially if PSI III 179 is rightly assigned to 25 December 602, see **3933** 2–3 n. item 10 in the list. It has been conjectured from a remark of pope Gregory the Great in a letter of June 603 to Eusebia, the wife of Apion III, that the two were hostile to Phocas, see Gascou art. cit. p. 74 and n. 423. Apion's acquisition of the patriciate in precisely this period, sometime between late 602 and early 605, might be tentatively argued as a point against this view. At any rate Apion survived and retained his estates in Egypt under Phocas and well into the reign of Heraclius, dying in AD 619, see below **3959** and **3960**.

6–7 On Menas cf. **3935** 7 n. For the standard continuation of the formula see **3941** 15–18. The initial trace in 7 is indeterminate and since abbreviation is often used it seems useless to guess where 6 may have ended and 7 begun.

3940. FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT

67 6B.17/A(1–3)a

7.5 × 4.5 cm

6–14 April 604

This scrap, with only the beginnings of six lines and traces of a seventh, has part of an invocation of the Trinity and part of a regnal year formula of Phocas, year 2, Pharmuthi 11–19 inclusive. The trace of the second digit of the day number is tiny.

The back is mostly stripped of its vertical fibres, but there are scattered remains from an endorsement of the usual kind.

+ ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἀχράντου [καὶ ὁμοουσίου
 τριάδος πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος.
 βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου
 ἡμῶν δεσπό(του) μεγίστου εὐ[εργέτου Φλαουῖου
 5 Φωκά τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγού[του καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος
 ἔτους β⁻, Φαρμούθι ι⁻, [ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ζ.
 ...]. [...]. [

2 υἱου

4 δεσπ^ος

6 β̄, ῑ.

‘In the name of the immaculate and consubstantial trinity, father and son and holy spirit. In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Phocas, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 2, Pharmuthi 11(1–19), [indiction 7].’

‘...’

1–2 This formula is classified as type 2C by R. S. Bagnall, and K. A. Worp, *CE* 56 (1981) 114, cf. 118. It was known to them from only two documents, P. Laur. III 91 and SB XII 10798, both of them dated by the short formula referring to an imperial consular year without naming the emperor, see above **3933** 2–3 n., items 11 and 12 in the list. It appears now also in **3940**, **3943**, **3946**, **3947**, **3950**, **3951**, **3952**(?), and **3953**. So far it is exclusively Oxyrhynchite, one of only two types of Trinity invocation used there, see **3941** 1–3 and n. for the other.

7 The remains are minimal. Probably an initial phi, for Flavius (Apion), would have left a trace of the riser.

3941. FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT

53 1B.26(G)/G(1)b

6.5 × 16.5 cm

27 December 604–25 January 605

The invocation here is of a form unrecognized before, but now known from four examples, all from Oxyrhynchus, see 1–3 n. Although the nature of the contract does not emerge before the papyrus breaks off, the endorsement describes it as an ἀπόδειξις, which usually denotes a receipt for money or goods. It is addressed to Flavius Apion III by man called Aurelius Victor, described as a προαστίτης, cf. 19 n. The Apion family had an estate called τὸ προάστιον Ἐξω τῆς Πύλης, which seems to have been a very grand suburban residence with extensive grounds, see G. Husson, *OIKIA* 235–6, and especially *Rech. Pap.* 4 (1967) 192–6, cf. LI **3640** 2 n., LV **3804** 268–9 n. Victor presumably lived and was employed on that estate. The Latin glossaries (CGL II 416. 17, III 196. 23 (-us); 305. 61; 353. 47) equate προάστ(ε)ιον with ‘suburbanum’, which P. G. W. Glare, *OLD*, defines as ‘a country seat near the city’.

- + ἐν ὁ]νόματι τῆς ἀγίας ἀχρά[ντου
καὶ ὁ]μοουσίου τριάδος πατ[ρὸς
καὶ] υἱοῦ καὶ ἀγίου πνεύμ(ατος).
βασ]ιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ
5 εὐς]εβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπ(ότου) μεγίστου
εὐερ]γ(έτου) Φλ(αουῖου) Φωκᾶ τοῦ αἰωνίου
Αὐγο]ύστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορ(ος)
(vac.) ἔτους γ⁻, Τῦβ<ι><?>, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) η. . . [
Φλ(αουῖω)] Ἀπίωνι τῷ πανευφήμ[ω
10 καὶ ὕ]περφυεστάτῳ ἀπὸ
ὕπ[α]τ[ω]ν καὶ πατρικίῳ
γεου]χοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα
τῇ λ]αμπρο(τάτῃ) Ὁξύρυγχ(ιτῶν) πόλει,
διὰ] Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ
15 ἐπ]ερωτῶντος καὶ προσπορίζ(οντος)
τῷ] ἰδίῳ δεσπ(ότη) τῷ αὐτῷ
πανε]υφήμῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν
ἀγω]γὴν καὶ ἐνοχίην.
Αὐρ]ήλιος Βίκτωρ προαστίτ(ης)

3 υἱοῦ, πνευμ/
13 λ]αμπρ/οξυρυγχ

5 ευς]εβς, δεσπς
15 προσπορίζ/

6 ευερ]γςφλ/
16 δεσπς

7 αυτοκρατορ/
19 προαστις

8 γτυβινδ//

20] . . . [. . . .] . . . του αυτ[. .

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) + ἀποδείξ(ις) Βίκτορος προατίτ(ου) [
(vac.)]

21 αποδείξ/ προατίτ

'In the name of the holy, immaculate, and consubstantial trinity, father and son and holy spirit. In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Phocas, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 3, Tybi . . . , indiction 8.'

'To Flavius Apion, the most renowned and most extraordinary consular and patrician, landowner here also in the most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, slave, putting the formal question and supplying for his own master, the same most renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction). I, Aurelius Victor, *proastiles*, ...'

Back. (1st hand?) 'Certificate of Victor, *proastiles* ...'

1-3 This form of invocation is new to the classification of R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *CE* 56 (1981) 114. It occurs in this volume in **3941**, **3942**, and **3948**. It had appeared once before, in PSI I 61 (8 May 609, see **3933** 2-3 n., where it is item 11a in the list), but it was misread there as formula 2E, which is now known exclusively from Upper Egyptian nomes, see *CE* 56 (1981) 120, 122, 125. The statement on p. 130 that 'ζωσποιοίς is largely limited to Upper Egypt' can now dispense with 'largely' and ζωσποιοίς is now not known in these formulas before the reign of Heraclius. The present formula is exclusively Oxyrhynchite, one of only two types of Trinity invocations used there, see **3940** 1-2 and n. for the other.

8 It might be guessed that the day was one between 10 and 19 inclusive and the clerk lost his way among the iotas of τυβι(+α-θ?)ινδ//. The signs at the end of the line are puzzling, but it is more likely that they simply mark the numeral than that they are an attempt to correct the omission. They are not compatible with era date figures.

9-11 Cf. **3939** 4-5 n.

13 λαμπρ^o = λαμπρο(τάτη). It is usual to find either λαμπρῶ or λαμπρῶ καὶ λαμπροτάτη. The omicron is on a small scale and therefore, although it does not rise above the normal level of the tops of the letters, gives the impression of being raised. It looks like part of the abbreviation and not like a first attempt at the first letter of the next word.

14-18 Cf. **3935** 7 n., **3939** 6-7 n.

19 προατίτ(ης), cf. 21. *LSJ* refers only to St. Byz. s.v. ἄστν, where he quibbles about the form, saying that προάστιον ought to produce προαστιεύς or προάστιος, although ἀστίτης comes legitimately from ἄστν through ἀστός. The word was supposed to have appeared in XVI **1925** 42: κῆλη ξυλ(ίνη) τοῦ προατίτου ἵππικ(οῦ). G. Husson, *Rech. Pap.* 4 (1967) 198-9 = BL VI 104, suggested that this should be read as c. ξ. τοῦ προατί(ου) τοῦ ἵππικ(οῦ), i.e. 'a wooden ladder of the προάστιον of the circus (or stable)': 'le *proastion* serait alors une partie des constructions du cirque ou d'une écurie'. Examination of the original confirms that the iota is cut by a horizontal bar at a low level to indicate abbreviation; ἄγι(ον) in line 6 is marked for abbreviation in the same way. Since **1925** is a list of goods in the προάστιον Ἐξω τῆς Πύλης, see line 44, cf. 1, it seems perverse to suppose that προατί(ου) here refers to another edifice. I suggest that the words should be translated, 'the villa's wooden ladder (i.e. stairway, drawbridge?) to the circus'. By that I mean that we might, tentatively, imagine that the circus adjoined the Apion villa and could be reached from it, rather in the way that the grand circuses at Constantinople and other capital cities adjoined imperial palaces with private means of access, see J. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses* 579-80. The Apion family's private box at the circus is mentioned in PSI VIII 953. 62, τοῦ γεουχικ(οῦ) θεωρίου τ[οῦ] ἵππικ(οῦ). Again we could imagine that a stairway in the form of a wooden bridge, which could be removed when not required, would be a practical provincial substitute for the imperial galleries and passageways. The word κῆλη (cf. G. W. H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. κῆλα) has occurred again, obviously referring to an ordinary ladder, in P. Vatic. Aphrod. I. 11-12 οἰκ[ιδίω μετὰ ξυλίνης] κῆλης (AD 598). On the circus at Oxyrhynchus see

Humphrey, op. cit. 516–9; add now the early Byzantine archive of ostraca recording the issue of wine to circus personnel, O. Ashm. Shelton 83–190, see J. C. Shelton, *Greek Ostraca in the Ashmolean Museum* (Pap. Flor. XVII) pp. 73–138.

20 We expect here the filiation, but perhaps it was already the origin, i.e. ἀπὸ (place) τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ. More correct would be τοῦ Ὁξυρυγίτου νομοῦ, but occasionally αὐτοῦ is used when only the city has been mentioned previously. Or perhaps it was an amplification of προακτίτ(ης) in the form καὶ . . . [. . .] . c τοῦ αὐτ[οῦ πανευφήμου ἀνδρός.

3942. POTTER'S WORK CONTRACT

65 6B.35/G(1–2)a

10.5 × 35 cm

22 February 606

In this well preserved contract a secretary and *riparius* of a large estate, probably the Apion estate, was given an acknowledgement by a potter of the receipt of three gold solidi, which had been paid in advance as the price of one thousand standard wine jars, plus six large vessels and six two-*chous* pots, to be delivered in Mesore, that is in about six months time. Although I have entitled it a 'work contract', because that seems more in keeping with our modern concepts, the document is formally a receipt for money received in advance of the delivery of goods, compare **3954** introd. para. 3. On work contracts in general see **3933** introd. para. 2.

For the manufacture of pottery in Roman Egypt see H. Cockle, *JRS* 71 (1981) 87–97, cf. L **3595–7**. Some of the terminology here echoes that of those third century contracts.

It is not clear if the jars were for use on the large estate. In that case one might expect a contract addressed directly to the landowner. The Apion estate's stewards recorded expenditure for the purchase of jars in their accounts, e.g. LV **3804** 218–19, XVI **1911** 181–92, **1913** 29–35, 51–3.

A sheet-join running vertically close to the right edge shows that the contract is written along the fibres of the recto of the original roll from which the piece was cut. The height of the document was the height of the roll.

† ἐν ὀνόματι τῆ[ς ἁγ]ίας ἀχράντο[ς] καὶ ὁμοῦσιου
 τριάδος πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύμ[ατος].
 βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ[εστατου] ἡμῶν
 δεσπ[ότου] μεγίστου ἐ[ὕ]εργ[έτου] Φλ[αυίου] Φωκά τοῦ αἰών[ιου]
 5 Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκρά[τορος] ἔτ[ο]υς δ' , Μεχέρ
 (vac.) ' ' κη, ἰνδ[ικτίωνος] ἐνάτης ' '. (vac.)
 τῷ αἰδεσίμῳ Σεργίῳ χαρτουλαρίῳ καὶ
 ῥιπαρίῳ τοῦ ἐνδόξου ἡμῶν οἴκου
 υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς μακαρία[ς] μηνῆς Βίκτορο[ς]

2 υἱοῦ, πνευμ[ατος]

3 ευσεβ[εστατου]

4 δεσπ[ότου], ἐ[ὕ]εργ[έτου]

5 αυτοκρ[ατορος]

6 ἰνδ[ικτίωνος]

9 υἱῷ

- 10 γενομένου νομικαρίου ἀπὸ ταύτης
 τῆς Ὁξυρυγχ(ιτών) πόλε(ως). Αὐρήλιος
 Παμούθιος κουφοκεραμεὺς
 υἱὸς Ἀπολλῶ μητρὸς Ἄννας ἀπὸ
 ἐποικίου Παλιτίου τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου) ν[ο]μοῦ
 15 ὁμολογῶ ἐσχηκ(έναι) παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρ(ας)
 αἰδεσιμ(ότητος) ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη χρυσοῦ νομίσμ(ατα)
 τρία ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) ζυγῶ εἰς τὴν συναρέσασάν μοι
 τιμὴν πλήρες καινοκούφ(ων) γεουχικ(ῶν)
 χιλίων καὶ μεγάλων σκευῶν ἕξ
 20 καὶ διχονίον ἕξ, γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) ν(ομίσματα) γ⁻ ἰδ(ιωτικῶ)
 ζυγ(ῶ), ὕ(πέρ?)
 κ[α]ι[ν]οκούφ(ων) γεουχ(ικῶν) / α (καὶ) μεγάλ(ων) σκευῶ[ν]
 ς' (καὶ) διχον(ίων) ς', ἅπερ κ[α]ι[ν]οκούφ(α)
 ἐπιδήτ(ια) πεπισσοκοπημένα
 ἀπὸ πυθμέ(νων) ἄχρι χιλῶν ἀπὸ χειμερ(ινῆς)
 25 πλάξεως ἀσινῇ ται καὶ ἀδιάπτωτα
 ὁμολογῶ παρασχεῖν τῇ ὑμετέρῃ
 αἰδεσιμ(ότητι) ἐν τῷ Μεσορῇ μην(νὶ) τῆς
 παρούσης ἐνάτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) πρὸς
 κατα<γ>γισμὸν οἴνου ῥύσεως τῆς σὺν θ(εῶ)
 30 δεκάτης ἐπινεμή(σεως) ἀνυπερθ(έτως).
 κύρ(ιον) τὸ γραμ(ματεῖον) ἀπλ(οὺν) γρ[α]φ(έν) (καὶ) ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς)
 ὠμολ(όγησα).
- (m. 2) + Αὐρ(ήλιος) Παμούθιος υἱὸς Ἀπολλῶ
 στοιχεῖ μοι τοῦτο τὸ γραμμ(ατεῖον) ὡς πρόκ(εῖται).
 Παπνούθιος ἔγραψα ὕ(πέρ) αὐτοῦ ἀγραμμ(άτου)
 35 ὄντος.

11 οξυρυγχ/πολ/ε	13 υἱος	14 οξυρυγχ/	15 ἐσχηκ/, ὑμετερ/	16 αἰδεσιμς, νομισμς
17 ἰδς	18 καινοκουφ/γεουχικ/		20 1. διχονίων; γι/χρ/ἰγῖδ/ζυγς	
21 κ[α]ι[ν]οκουφ/γεουχς/αςμεγαλ/	22 ςδιχονς, κ[α]ι[ν]οκουφ/	23 1. ἐπιτήδεια	24 πυθμς;	
1. χιλῶν; χειμερ/	25 1. τε	26 ὑμετερα	27 αἰδεσιμς, μῇ	28 ἰνδ//
30 ἐπινεμῆανυπερθς?	31 κυρ/, γραμ/απλ/γρ[α]φςεπερ/ωμολ/	32 αυρς, υἱος	33 γραμῖς,	
προκ/	34 υ/, αγραμμς			

(vac.)

(m. 3?) ₪ *di'em(u)* +

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) + *γρα(μματαῖον) Παμουθίου κουφοκεραμεὺς υἱοῦ Ἀπολλῶ ἀπὸ*
ἐπ[ο]ικ(ίου) Παλιτί(ου); χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μίσματα) γ⁻ ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) ζυγ(ῶ);
καιν[ο]κούφ(ων) γεουχ(ικῶν)

38 (vac.) | *α καὶ σκεῶ(ν) σ⁻ (καὶ) διχ(ονίων) σ⁻.*

37 *γραφ/α; l. κουφοκεραμέως; υἱον, χρ/ν^ο ἰδ/ζυγσκαινοκουφ/γεουχσ* 38 *σκεωσςδισς; l. σκευῶν*

'In the name of the holy, immaculate and consubstantial trinity, father and son and holy spirit. In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Phocas, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 4, Mecheir 28, ninth indiction.'

'To the worshipful Sergius, *chartularius* and *riparius* of our glorious household, son of Victor of blessed memory former *nomiarius*, from this city of the Oxyrhynchites. I, Aurelius Pamuthius, potter of wine jars, son of Apollos, mother Anna, from the hamlet of Palitiu of the Oxyrhynchite nome, acknowledge that I have received from your Worship now on the spot three solidi of gold by the private standard for the price agreed with me in full of one thousand new wine jars of the landowner's pattern and six large vessels and six two-*chous* jars, total 3 sol. of gold by the private standard in respect of 1,000 new wine jars and 6 large vessels and 6 two-*chous* jars, which new wine jars, of proper quality, lined with pitch from bottoms to lips, of winter manufacture, without damage and without defect, I agree to provide for your Worship in the month of Mesore of the present ninth indiction for containing the wine of the vintage of the tenth—God willing!—indiction without delay. The deed is binding, written in one copy, and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Pamuthius son of Apollos—this deed is satisfactory to me as aforesaid. I, Parnuthius, wrote on his behalf because he is illiterate.'

(3rd hand) 'Through me ...'

Back. (1st hand?) 'Deed of Pamuthius, potter of wine jars, son of Apollos, from the hamlet of Palitiu: 3 sol. of gold by the private standard; 1,000 new wine jars of the landowner's pattern, and 6 <large> vessels, and 6 two-*chous* jars.'

1-2 Cf. 3941 1-3 n.

7 *αἰδεσίμω*. Cf. 16, 28. See O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate* 1-2, citing XVI 1898 27 for an *αἰδέσιμος χαρτουλάριος* and P. Flor. III 313. 4 for a *riparius*, the earliest use of this honorific (AD 449).

7-8 E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates* 94-5 distinguishes three types of *chartularius*. The word has the general sense of 'secretary', but in itself does not explain the holder's status or function. The post is a private one, whereas *riparii*, although appointed by the large landowners for senior police work, were in origin and function state officials, see J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 5-6, 43, 45-6, 61 and n. 339.

9-10 A *nomiarius* called Victor son of the late John appears in I 136 10, 45 (autograph), 52. The date of 136 is 24 May 583, so he could well be the same man.

The *nomiarii* seem to have been specially concerned with the transport of goods for the state, see LV 3788 2 n.

12 *κουφοκεραμεύς*. Making large wine jars was a separate branch of the potter's craft, cf. P. Apoll. 75. 13 n. (on *λεπτοκεραμεύς*).

14 *ἐποικίου Παλιτίου*. This place is new, i.e. not in P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*.

18-20 By comparison with L 3595-7, where the sizes are 2-*chous*, 4-*chous* and double (i.e. 8-*chous*), we can guess with some probability that the *καινόκουφα* here were 4-*chous* and *μεγάλα σκεύη* 8-*chous* jars.

20 *διχονίον* (= -*ίον*). *Add. lexx.* The beginning of the word is clear in 22 and 38. For *δίχοα* cf. L 3595 12, 48; 3596 12, 18, 30; 3597 9, 42, with H. Cockle, *JRS* 71 (1981) 95-6.

ψ(πέρρ?). The symbol is very close to the edge and is obscured by xi from the line above, but *σκευῶν*

(21) makes ψ ($\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$) the most likely guess.

23 $\pi\epsilon\pi\iota\varsigma\sigma\kappa\omicron\kappa\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$. Cf. H. Cockle, *JRS* 71 (1981) 94–5, L 3596 19 n.

24–5 $\alpha\pi\delta\ \chi\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\rho(\iota\nu\eta\varsigma)\ \pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma$. Cf. *JRS* 71 (1981) 93.

36 Cf. 3933 40 and n., 3936 35, 3952 58–9, 3955 28, 3958 40. The notarial subscription is written in a very compressed Latin hand with several tall risers sloping to the right and some long descenders sloping to the left. Scripts of this type are illustrated in J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* Taf. 50 (c.g.). In view of 34 here and Diethart and Worp p. 84 it is worth stating that the name Parnuthius will not suit the pattern of risers. The end is too damaged to allow me to distinguish even among the standard possibilities, see *ibid.* p. 19.

3943. FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT

53 1B.26(F)/C(4)a

12 × 9 cm

15 November 606

This and the next three items (3943–6) are all addressed to Flavius Apion III, on whom see 3939 4–5 n., and all bear endorsements describing them as the $\gamma\rho(\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu)$ $\pi\rho\omicron\chi\rho(\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma)$ of an individual. The dates are 15, 16, 16 and 18 November 606. The one after these (3947), datable less precisely (28 October–26 November 606), may have been similar even though the endorsement omits $\pi\rho\omicron\chi\rho(\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma)$, as we can see from XVI 1975 (AD 496), a loan of money $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omega\ \pi\rho\omicron\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ endorsed $\gamma\rho(\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu)$ Ἀπολλῶ κτλ. The fact that 3945 and 3947 are in the same hand may strengthen the case. At any rate the closeness of the dates of 3943–6 and their similar endorsements suggest that they were together in some filing system, probably in a city office belonging to the Apion estate.

There is a sheet-join running vertically just over 1 cm from the right edge, showing that the front was the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut. Abrasion of this join has caused some minor damage near the ends of lines 1–5. It has the additional interest of having been made carelessly enough to reveal its three-layer construction, cf. LI p. 61, E. G. Turner, *Recto and Verso* (Pap. Brux. 16) 20, P. Harr. II 212 introd.

+ ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἀχράντου καὶ ὁμοουσίου
 τριάδος πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἀγίου π[ν]εύματος.
 βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου)
 ἡμῶν δεσπότης μεγίστος εὐεργέτης Φλ(αουῖου)
 5 Φωκᾶ τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀυγούστου καὶ Ἀυτοκρ(άτορος)
 ἔτους ε' ', Ἀθὺρ ιθ, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ι.
 Φλ(αουῖω) Ἀπίωνι τ[ῶ] πανευφήμῳ καὶ
 [ὕπ]ε[ρ]φυστάτῳ κτλ.

Back, downwards along the fibres

(m. 1?) + $\gamma\rho(\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\omicron\nu)$ $\pi\rho\omicron\chi\rho(\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma)$. . . [

2 υἱου

3 ευσεβς

4 φλς?

5 αυτοκρ/

6 ἰθῖνδ/ι

7 φλς?

8 $\gamma\rho^a/\pi\rho\omicron\chi\rho/$

‘In the name of the immaculate and consubstantial trinity, father and son and holy spirit. In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Phocas, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, year 5, Hathyr 19, indiction 10.’

‘To Flavius Apion, the most renowned and most extraordinary (consular and patrician) ...’

Back. (1st hand?). ‘Deed for an advance to ...’

7–8 The wording of the titles is likely to be the standard one for this period, including the patriciate, see **3939** 4–5 n., para 2.

9 *προχρ(είας)*. Cf. L **3589** 13–17 n. on advances of money or grain to a lessee at the beginning of a lease to enable him to start work on cultivation; add XVI **1975**, and probably **1912** 142–4. In XVI **1890** (AD 508) the lessee of a bakery and grain mill received an advance of 12 solidi; **1913** 67–70 record an advance of sol. 8 less car. 40 to estate tenants for irrigation work on the orchards and gardens of the Apion villa. In P. Grenf. II 87 (Hermopolis, AD 602) a group of dyers received a money advance when they undertook to work for a year. More material on advances paid in connection with work contracts is collected by A. Jördens, *ZPE* 75 (1988) 164–6.

3944. FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT

52 1B.26(C)/D(4)c

15 × 7 cm

16 November 606

The surviving eight lines of the front begin with the date clause. The loss above was probably of two lines, to fit an invocation of type 2C, see **3940** 1–2 n., since this is the formula clear in **3943** and **3946**, as well as **3947**, which is probably part of the group, see **3943** introd. The unclassified formula with *ἀγίας* before *ἀχράντου* is also possible, see **3941** introd., 1–3 n., **3945** 1–2 n.

There is a sheet-join running vertically c. 5 cm from the left edge, showing that the front is the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut.

βασιλ[ε]ί[α]ς τοῦ θε[ο]τᾶτορ καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπ(ότου)
 μεγίστου εὐεργ(έτου) Φλ(αουῖου) Φωκᾶ τοῦ α[ι]ωνίου Αὐγούστου
 καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους ε⁻, Ἀθὺρ κ⁻, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) δεκάτης.
 Φλ(αουῖω) Ἀπίωνι τῷ πανευφύμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυ(εστάτῳ) ἀπὸ ὑπάτω ν⁻
 5 καὶ πατρικίου γεωχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ
 λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρυ[γ]χ(ιτῶν) πόλ(ει) διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτ[η]] ὀν⁻ τοῦ
 ἐπερωτῶντ[ος] καὶ προσπορ[ίζ]οντος τῷ ἰδίῳ
 δεσπό(τῃ) τῷ [αὐτῷ πανευ]φύ[μῳ ἀνδρὶ τ]ῇ[ν ἀγωγ]ῇ[ν]

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) +] γρ(αμματεῖον) προχρ(είας) Ἱερη[μίου] ...

1 ευσεβς, δεσπς 2 ευεργςφλ' 3 εαθυρκινδ/ 4 φλ', ὑπερφ^υ/, ὑπατ^ω 5 1. πατρικίω
 γεουχοῦντι 6 οξυρυ[γ]χςπολ/ 7 ἰδιω 8 δεσπς^ο 9 γρ/προχρ̄/ἱερη[μ]

'... In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Phocas, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, year 5, Hathyr 20, tenth indiction.'

'To Flavius Apion, the most renowned and most extraordinary consular and patrician, landowner here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, slave, putting the formal question and supplying for his own master, the same most renowned man, the conduct ...'

Back. (1st hand?) 'Deed for an advance to Jeremiah ...'

4-6 Cf. 3939 4-5 n.

6-8 Cf. 3939 6-7 n.

3945. FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT

53 1B.26(D)/B(10)b

12 × 10.5 cm

16 November 606

The hand of 3945 is the same as that of 3947, which strengthens the case for 3947 to be taken as belonging to this group, see 3943 introd.

There is a sheet-join running vertically about 2 cm from the left edge, showing that the front is the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut.

[+ ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἀχράντο]υ
 κ[α]ὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος πατρὸς
 καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἀγίου πνεύματος. βασι(λείας)
 τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν
 5 δεσπ(ότου) μεγίστου εὐεργέ(του) Φλ(αουῖου) Φωκᾶ
 τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκρ(άτορος)
 ἔτους ε, Αθὺρ κ, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ι̅.
 Φλ(αουῖω) Αἰτί[ωνι] τῷ πανευφής[μ]ω καὶ
 ὑπε[ρ]φ(εστάτῳ) ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ πατρικίῳ
 10 γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρ(ᾷ)
 Ὁξυ[ρ]υγχι(τῶν) πόλ(ει) διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ
 ἐπ[ε]ρ[ω]τ[ῶ]ντος] κα[ὶ] κτλ.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) † γρ(αμματεῖον) προχρ(είας) .[.] .ουθίου .[

3 υἱον, πνευμ[ς]βασι/	4 ευσεβ[ς]	5 δεσπ[ς], ευεργ[ς]φλ[ς]	6 αυτοκρ/	7 ινδ/ι̅	8 φλ[ς?]
9 υπε[ρ]φ/?	10 λαμπρ/	11 οξυ[ρ]υγχιπολ/	13 γρ/προχρ/		

'(In the name of the immaculate?) and consubstantial trinity, father and son and holy spirit. In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Phocas, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, year 5, Hathyr 20, indiction 10.'

'To Flavius Apion, the most renowned and most extraordinary consular and patrician, landowner here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, slave, putting the formal question and ...'

Back. (1st hand?) 'Deed for an advance to Pamuthius(?) ...'

1-2 Formula 2C is restored here, because that is the one used in **3943** and **3946**, cf. **3944** introd. The unclassified formula which adds *ἀγίας* before *ἀχράντου* is also possible, see **3941** introd. and 1-3 n., and **3944** introd.

8-11 Cf. **3939** 4-5 n.

11-12 Cf. **3939** 6-7 n.

13 .[.]. *ουθίου* .[.]. The space and such traces as there are favour *Π[α]μουθίου* over the other possibilities, see F. Dornseiff, B. Hansen, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* 233.

3946. FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT

53 1B.26(D)/B(2)a

13 × 10 cm

18 November 606

Cf. **3943** introd. for the general context.

There is a sheet-join running vertically about 2.5 cm from the left edge. The sheet on the left was attached with its fibres vertical on the contract side, so that each line of the document begins with one or two letters written across the fibres of the left hand sheet and continues along the fibres of the right hand sheet. This indicates that the left sheet was the first one in the original roll, the so-called protocollon, see E. G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso* (Pap. Brux. 16) 20-21. In confirmation of this there are scanty remains of the large, thick, stylized, usually indecipherable script in which late Byzantine protocols were written, cf. **3958** introd. and 1-3 n. However, **3958** is written across the fibres of the recto parallel with the short sides of the roll and parallel with the protocol writing, while **3946** is written parallel with the long sides of the roll in the classical manner and at right angles to the protocol writing.

Ϡ ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἀχράντου καὶ ὁμοουσίου
 τριάδος πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος `ς `.
 βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν
 δεσπό(του) μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλ(αουῖου) Φωκᾶ τοῦ
 5 αἰωνίου Ἀγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος
 ἔτους ε΄, Ἀθῶν κβ΄, ἡνδ(ικτίωνος) ι΄΄.
 Φλαουῖω Ἀπίω[ν]· τῷ πανευφύμῳ
 καὶ ὑπερφυε[τά]τῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτω `ν ` καὶ
 πατρικίῳ γεου[χοῦ]ντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα
 10 τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁ[ξυρνγ]χ(ιτῶν) πόλει διὰ Μη[ν]ᾶ
 οἰ[κέτου] τοῦ [ἐπερ(ωτῶντος)] καὶ [προσ]πο[ρί]ζοντ[ος]
 τ[ῷ] κτλ.

Back; downwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) + γρ(αμματεῖον) προχρ(είας) Βίκτη[ρος] ...

2 ὕιου	3 ευσεβς	4 δεσπ ^{ος} , φλς	5 1. Αὐγούστου	6 εἰαθυρῳβῖνδ/ι΄΄
8 υπερφυε[τα]τω	10 ο[ξυρνγ]χς	13 γρ/προχρς		

'In the name of the immaculate and consubstantial trinity, father and son and holy spirit. In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Phocas, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, year 5, Hathyr 22, indiction 10.'

'To Flavius Apion, the most renowned and most extraordinary consular and patrician, landowner here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, slave, putting the formal question and providing for ...'

Back. (1st hand?) 'Deed for an advance to Victor(?) ...'

1-2 Cf. **3940** 1-2 n.

5 *Ἀγούστου* for *Αὐγούστου* is a well known phonetic spelling, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 226-8, esp. 228.

13 *Βίκτη[ρος]*. *Βικτω[ρίνου]* is conceivable, but not likely.

3947. FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT

53 1B.26(D)/B(10)a

13 × 8.5 cm

28 October-26 November 606

This item is in the same hand as **3945** and its date, although the day number does not survive, must be within about two weeks of those in **3943-6**. These facts encourage the supposition that the document belongs to that group of contracts for advances, even though the word *προχρ(είας)* is absent from its endorsement, see **3943** introd.

There is a sheet-join running vertically just at the middle of the fragment, showing that the contract is on the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut.

+ ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἀχράντου καὶ ὁμοουσί(ου)
 τριάδος πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου
 πνεύμ(ατος). βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ
 εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότη(του) μεγίστου εὐεργέ(του)
 5 Φλ(αουῖου) Φ[ωκ]ᾶ τοῦ αἰωνίου [Αὐ]γούστου καὶ Αὐτοκρ(άτορος)
 (vac.) ἔτρου[ς] ε, Αὐθ[ρ 1-2], ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ι'.
 Φλ(αουῖω) Ἀπίωνι [τῷ] πανε[υφήμ]ω κα[ι] ὑπερφ[(νεστάτω)
 ἀπὸ ὑπάτ[ων καὶ πατρικίω γεουχοῦντι
 καὶ ἐντ[αῦθα
 10 ...].[

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) + γρ(αμματεῖον) Α. [...] υἱοῦ Απα[

1 ὁμοουσι/ 3 πνευμς 4 εὐσεβς, δεσπς, εὐεργς 5 φλς, αυτοκρ/ 6 ἰνδ/ι' 7 φλς
 11 γρ/; υι rewritten

Back. (1st hand?) 'Deed of ... son of ...'

9-10 The wording is well known, cf. e.g. 3950 4-5, but the extent of abbreviation in the writing of it is variable and the trace in 10 is not distinctive.

97/10(f)

 $13.5 \times 10 \text{ cm}$

9 June 609

The document is addressed to a *comes*, but the damage is so great that nothing can be said about the nature of the contract. There seems to be a sheet-join about 3.5 cm from the left edge, but this may be an illusion induced by the abrasion. On the back there are a few faint and scattered traces of an endorsement running downwards in the usual position.

(vac.)

Φλ[.....].....[.] τῶ περιβλέπτω κόμετι
κα[ὶ].....ικ.. υἱῶ τοῦ τῆς
λ[α]μ[π]ρᾶς μνήμης

3 δεσπ⁹

4 $\phi\lambda\varsigma$?

5 ὑπατίας; l. ὑπατείας

6 ζπαϋνιϵ, ινδ/ιβ

8 $\psi\omega$?

'In the name of the holy, immaculate, and consubstantial trinity, father and son and holy spirit. In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Phocas, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 7, in the consulship of our same most pious master year 6, Payni 15, indiction 12.'

'To Flavius ..., *uir spectabilis, comes* (and? ...), son of ... of splendid memory ...'

1-2 Cf. **3941** 1-3 n. for the formula.

2 βασιλ(ι)είας. The end has been rewritten, perhaps with -είας over -ας, in a bungled attempt to correct -ιας to -είας.

5-6 Regnal year 7 should be 25 November 608 to 24 November 609; indiction 12 is 29 August 608 to 28 August 609, leaving no doubt that Payni 15 is 9 June 609 in this case. Phocas took his consulship in 603, the year after his accession (25 November 602). Although he took it in December (!) 603 (Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 6096 incip.; ed. J. Classen SHB i 451), by our ideas 609 should be consular year 7. The figure here is abraded, especially the lower part, but in my judgement it is 5 = 6. This agrees with SB XII 10798 (again in my judgement, see **3933** 2-3 n., item 12 in the list), where Payni 17 of the 12th indiction is ascribed to year 6 of the consulship of 'our same most pious master', unnamed. The only feasible interpretation is that this is 11 June 609 and that the Oxyrhynchite clerks had established a fixed relationship between regnal and consular years to avoid the complications that the different beginnings of the regnal and consular years should have imposed, cf. pp. 61-2. This is what they did in the reign of Maurice, see **3933-3962** General Introduction pp. 52-7, and probably in that of Heraclius, see **3955** 2-3 n.

7 It is clear that the addressee had the status indication Flavius, appropriate to his title and rank of *uir spectabilis* and *comes*, see J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 57-8. In this position it may be either abbreviated or given in full.

8 κα[ί] introduced his function; see S. Daris, *Lessico latino* 59-60, listing a number of combinations. We might expect something on the model of XVI **1970** 7-8 Φλαουίω Αναστα[ί]ω τῷ περιβλέπτῳ κ[αὶ] ὁμ[ε]τ[ῶν] καὶ τραπεζίτῃ τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) οἴκου (AD 554), but I have been unable to confirm even τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου, much less read the traces of the name and the function.

9 λ[α]μ[πρ]ῶς μνήμης. Cf. I **140** 4-5 for another *spectabilis comes* νῆω το[ῦ] τῆς λαμπρῶς μνήμης Μαρτυρίου (AD 550).

3949. FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT

97/17(a)

7.5 × 12.5 cm

4 June 610

This item is unique as the only document of the interregnum between Phocas and Heraclius to bear an invocation of Christ, which is the form first introduced by Maurice in AD 591 and the one to which Lower Egypt returned under Heraclius, see above **3933-3962** General Introduction. Under Phocas various forms of invocation of the Trinity were used. These are retained in all the other surviving documents of the interregnum, which dispense with the regnal and consular dating clauses of Phocas.

It is difficult to see why the writer here returned to the Christ formula. It is not likely to have been mere whim on his part and it must indicate some antipathy to Phocas, but the exact implications are obscure. This is the earliest Oxyrhynchite document of the interregnum yet recognised. It may be that an initial radical change in the formulas, consisting in the abolition of the regnal and consular clauses as well as the change of invocation, was later modified to retain the Trinity invocation.

The documents which can now be attributed to the interregnum are:

	Julian date	Era	Invoc.	Month and day	Indiction
1. SB I 5270	27.2.610	—	3C	Phamenoth 3	13
2. 3949	4.6.610	286/255	1	Payni 10	13
3. 3950	25.6.610	none	2C	Epeiph 1	13
4. 3951	21.8.610	none	2C	Mesore 28	13, 14 incip.
5. 3952	before 29.8.610	286/255	?C	[lost]	13
6. 3953	23.9.610	286/255?!	2C	Thoth 26	14

Heraclius makes his first well dated appearance in Egyptian dating formulas on 12 February 611 (**3954**), having been enthroned on 5 October 610 (Chron. Pasch. ed. L. Dindorf, SHB i p. 700, with E. Stein, *Mélanges ... Bidez* 890–1 n. 2). The slight problem, treated by Stein, is that the date given by Chron. Pasch. 700. 14 is 6 October, but this is said to be a Monday, both here (ἡμέρας β') and later, 701. 11 (αὐτῆς τῆς δευτέρας ἡμέρας), and Monday was the fifth. That the figure 6, ς, is just a mistake for 5, ε, is indicated by the preceding narrative. Heraclius' fleet appeared off Constantinople on 3 October, a Saturday (ἡμέρα ζ', 699.21); the next day was a Sunday (τῇ ἐξῆς ἡμέρα, τουτέστιν τῇ κυριακῇ, 700. 3–4). These equivalences are correct according to the table for calculating the days of the week given by V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* 316, so that we can accept that the coronation was on a Monday, but not that Monday was the sixth.

The contract is written along the fibres of the recto, as is shown by a sheet-join running vertically very close to the right edge.

‡ ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου
καὶ δεσπότου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
τ]οῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος
ἡμῶν. Παῦνι ι', ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιγ,
5 (vac.) (ἔτους) ςπς cνε. (vac.)
τῷ αἰδεσίμῳ Ἐνώχ
ῥιπαρίῳ, λογιστῇ καὶ
βοηθοῦ τοῦ λουτροῦ
υἱῷ τοῦ μακαρίου
10 Γεωργίου ἀπὸ τῆς
Ὁξυρυγ(ιτών) πόλ(εως). Αὐρήλιος
Ἀνοῦπ νίδος Παμουθίου

4 ἰνδ/|

5 ςπς cνε

8 1. βοηθῷ

9 υἱῷ

11 οξυρυγ(ιτών) πόλ'

12 νίδος

μητρὸς Ἡραΐδος ἀπὸ
ἐπ[ο]ικίου Φατεμῆντ
15 τοῦ Ὁξυ]ρυχχ(ίτου) νομοῦ
c. 12 letters] . [

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) + γρ(αμματεῖον) Ἀνὸυπ υἱοῦ Πα[μουθίου] ...

13 ηραΐδος

15 οξυ]ρυχχ

17 γρ/, υἱου

'In the name of the lord and master Jesus Christ, our god and saviour. Payni 10, indiction 13, year 286/255.'

'To the worshipful Enoch, *riparius*, *curator* and assistant of the bath, son of the late George, from the city of the Oxyrhynchites. I, Aurelius Anup son of Pamuthius, mother Heraïs, from the hamlet of Phatement of the Oxyrhynchite nome ...'

Back. (1st hand?) 'Deed of Anup son of Pamuthius ...'

1-4 Invocation formula 1, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *CE* 56 (1981) 113.

4-5 Payni 10 = 4 June (R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 100); indiction 13, era year 286/255 = 609/610 (ibid. 92, cf. 36-42).

6 αἰδεσίμω. Cf. 3935 6 n.

7-8 ῥιπαρίω, λογιστῇ καὶ βοηθοῦ (= -ῶ) τοῦ λουτροῦ. The combination of *riparius* and *curator* is new. The *riparius* was a senior police officer, a state official, but at this date usually appointed through or by a large landowner, see J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 5, 26, 43, 45-6, 47 n. 269, 56 n. 321, 61. The connection of the *curator ciuitatis* with the public baths goes back to the early days of the office (AD 306), see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils* 90. In 553 a supplier of water for the public baths acknowledged receipt of his salary from Flavia Gabrielia, a patrician lady λαχούσῃ τὴν λογιστείαν, see XXXVI 2780. However, the title βοηθὸς τοῦ λουτροῦ is new, and strange, because βοηθός usually denotes a position more subordinate than we would expect of a *riparius* or *curator ciuitatis*. On baths at Oxyrhynchus at this late date see J. Krüger, *Tyche* 4 (1989) 116-118.

14 Φατεμῆντ. See P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 213. The end is too damaged to be sure whether there was any sign of abbreviation or not.

3950. FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT

53 1B.26(D)/A(10)a

17.5 × 10 cm

25 June 610

For the place of 3950 among the documents of the interregnum between Phocas and Heraclius see 3949 introd.

The contract is written along the fibres of the recto. There are two sheet-joins, one c. 4.5 cm from the left edge, the other c. 1.5 cm from the right edge. The central sheet is c. 11.5 cm wide, not counting the strip, perhaps c. 2 cm wide, hidden under the left hand join.

+ ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἀχράντου καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος πατρὸς
καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύμ(ατος). Ἐπεὶ φ α, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιγ.
Φλ(αουῖω) Ἀπίωνι τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφ(υεστάτῳ) ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ
πατρικίῳ γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρ(υγχιτῶν) πόλ(ει)
5 δι(ι)ὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερ(ωτῶντος) καὶ προσπορίζ(οντος) τῷ ἰδίῳ
δεσπ(ότη)ῳ
τῷ αὐτῷ πανευφ(ήμῳ) ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχίην.
Αὐρήλιος Πέτρος υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ μητρὸς Εἰρήνης ἀπὸ ἐποικ(ίου)
Νεκόνθεω[ς τ]οῦ Ὁξυρρυγχ(ίτου) ν[ο]μοῦ διαφέ[ρο]ντος τῇ ὑμετέρ(α)
...[.....]...[.]...[.]...[.]...[.]...[.....]

Back, downwards along the fibres:

10 (m. 1?) + χειρογρα[φία] ...

2 ἁγίου: dot accidental?; πνευμ̄ς, ἰνδ/ῖγ 3 φλ̄ς, ὑπερφ/, ὑπατων 4 οξυρ/πολ/ 5 ἐπερ/,
προσποριζ/, ἰδιωδεσπ̄ς 6 πανευφ/ 7 υἱοσίωσῃς, ἐποικ/ 8 1. Νεκώνθεως; οξυρρυγχ̄ς, ὑμετερ/

'In the name of the immaculate and consubstantial trinity, father and son and holy spirit. Epeiph 1, indiction 13.'

'To Flavius Apion the most renowned and most extraordinary consular and patrician, landowner here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, slave, putting the formal question and supplying for his own master, the same most renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility (for the transaction). I, Aurelius Peter son of Joseph, mother Irene, from the hamlet of Necontheos of the Oxyrhynchite nome belonging to your ...'

Back. (1st hand?) 'Cheirograph ...'

1-2 Invocation form 2C, cf. 3940 1-2 n.

3-4 Cf. 3939 4-5 n. for Flavius Apion III.

5-6 Cf. 3935 7 n. for Menas.

8 Νεκόνθεω[ς] (= Νεκώνθεως). Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 113-114.

9 As the first word we expect ὑπερφυεῖα, cf. e.g. XVI 1896 13, 1979 10, 1988 15, 1990 15. The initial traces do not seem to conform exactly with what we see in ὑπερφ(υεστάτῳ) in 3, but there is perhaps a diaeresis present, which suggests that this word is to be accepted.

10 χειρογρα[φία]. Although the edge is very discoloured, there is no sign of abbreviation, as in XVI 1984 10, χειρογρ(αφία) κτλ., but cf. 1987 33 χειρογραφ(ία), and 3951 7.

3951. FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT

53 1B.26(D)/B(4)a

18.5 × 9 cm

21 August 610

For the place of 3951 among the documents of the interregnum between Phocas and Heraclius see 3949 introd.

The contract is written along the fibres of the recto. There are two sheet-joins, one c. 4.5 cm from the broken left edge, the other c. 2 cm from the right edge, which

is intact. The central sheet is c. 12 cm wide, not counting the strip, perhaps c. 2 cm wide, hidden under the left hand join. The original roll must have been very like the one which produced **3950**, although the joins seem less carefully made. The formats of the documents differ; **3951** must have been wider than **3950** by perhaps 5 cm.

+ ἐν ὀνόματι] τῆς ἀχράντου καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου
 (vac.)] πνεύματος. Μεσορὴ κῆ̄, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιγ, ἀρχ(ῆ) ιδ̄. (vac.)
 Φλ(αουῖω) Ἀπίω]νι τῷ πανευφήμεω καὶ ὑπερφυστάτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων
 καὶ πατ]ρικίῳ γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρυγχ(ιτών)
 5 πόλει δι]ὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτ[ο]ν τοῦ ἐπερωτώντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος
 τῷ ιδί]ω δεσπότη τ[ῷ] αὐτῷ πανευφήμεω ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) + χ[ε]ῖρ[ογρα]φ(ία) [...

1 υἱου 2 κῆ̄ ἰνδ/ιγαρχῖδ 3 ὑπερφυστατω, ὑπατων 4 οξυρυγχ 7 χ[ε]ῖρ[ογρα]φ/[

'In the name of the immaculate and consubstantial trinity, father and son and holy spirit. Mesore 28, indiction 13, beginning of 14.'

'To Flavius Apion the most renowned and most extraordinary consular and patrician, landowner here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, slave, putting the formal question and supplying for his own master, the same most renowned man, the conduct ...'

Back. (1st hand?) 'Cheirograph ...'

2 ἀρχ(ῆ). See R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 17–19, 55–62.

7 The remains are of the feet of letters on the broken edge, the left edge viewed from the front.

3952. STEWARD'S WORK CONTRACT

53 1B.26(F)/B(6)–(9)

16.5 × 135 cm

before 29 August 610

A similar contract, **I 136** (=W. *Chr.* 383), of 24 May 583, almost perfectly preserved, is of great help in the understanding of this much damaged specimen, but the general similarity leaves many particular problems in restoring the wording unsolved. Such restorations as are printed should be treated with caution and regarded as aids to the presentation.

The end of line 1 shows part of a Trinity invocation, the end of 2 an era date, 286/255 = AD 609/10. The era date reappears in the last line alongside the notarial signature and the number 13, which is that of the indiction of 609/10, see 59 n. This is reinforced by a reference to the coming fourteenth indiction in line 16. Lines 3–6 contained an address to Flavius Apion III through Menas, all in a standard form of

words which gives a good idea of how much is missing at the left. We can see, therefore, that this is a document of the interregnum between Phocas and Heraclius dating between 29 August 609 and 28 August 610, without an *intitulatio*, dated by a month and day now lost and by indiction and era. From **136** we can see that it was a contract for a steward of a portion of the Apion rural estates for one year, beginning after the receipt of the taxes due in summer 610, which are attributed to the coming fourteenth indiction according to the usual practice, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 17–29, esp. 26.

An extra point of interest is the occupation of the guarantor, described as γραμματοδιδάσκαλος τοῦ Νοτίνου Χολ(ε)ίου, see 11 n.

Like **136**, and many other long Byzantine documents from the fifth century on, this one is set out to be read with the roll opening in the vertical direction instead of being held in the classical horizontal position, see E. G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso* (Pap. Brux. 16) 26–53, esp. 47–50 on the late period. The text is written across the fibres of the recto. There are seven sheet-joins which overlap downwards. The width of the observable sheets is fairly regular at c. 21–22 cm, with c. 3.5 cm above the first join and c. 2 cm below the last. The ‘height’ of the roll, that is the width of this document, would probably have been about 32 or 33 cm, cf. e.g. I **135–138**, but the greatest width preserved is c. 16.5 cm. Only the ends of lines survive, with parts of the top and bottom margins. The broken left edge is rather irregular and the papyrus is extremely brittle and in places badly discoloured. On the back near the top written horizontally along the fibres of the verso are the beginnings of three or four lines of an endorsement very much damaged and faded.

+ ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς (ἀγίας?) ἀχράντου καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος πατρὸς κα]ὶ
υἱοῦ καὶ ἀγίου
 πνεύματος. (month, day, indiction 13) ἔτο]υς σπς σνε̅.
 Φλαουῖω Ἀπίωνι τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυε]στ[άτῳ] ἀπὸ ὑπάτων
 καὶ πατρικίῳ γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπ]ρᾷ Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει
 5 διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ προσπορί]ζοντος τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότη
 τῷ αὐτῷ πανευφήμῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐ]νοχὴν, ἐγὼ Φοιβάμμων
 πρε(σβύτερος) τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας(?) υἱὸς τοῦ μακα]ρίου Φίβ, μετ'
ἐγγυητοῦ
 τοῦ καὶ ἀναδεχομένου αὐτὸν εἰς ἣν ποι]εῖται ὑποδοχὴν τῆς καταπιστευομένης
 αὐτῷ προνοησίας τῶν ἐξῆς δηλουμένων] κτημάτων καὶ ἀπόδοσιν τῶν
 10 c. 35 letters] κινδύνῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ
 ὑποστάσεως c. 15 letters γραμματοδι]δασκάλου τοῦ Νοτίνου Χολείου

1 υἱου

2 σνε̅

3 ὑπατων

5 ἰδιω

8 ὑποδοχην

11 l. Χολείου

υίου τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰούστου ἀμφότερ]οι ἐξῆς ὑπογράφοντες ἰδίους
γράμμασιν, ὁρμώμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς Ὁξ]υρυγχιτῶν πόλεως χαίρειν.

ὁμολογῶ

ἐκουσία γνώμη καὶ αὐθαιρέτῳ προαιρέσει] συντεθεῖσθαι με πρὸς τὸν
15 ἔνδοξον ὑμῶν οἶκον διὰ τῶν ὑμῖν διαφερόντων] ἐπὶ ἓνα ἐνιαυτὸν

λογιζόμε(ενον)

ἀπὸ τῆς τρισκαιδεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος), καρπῶν τῆς ς]ὺν θεῷ

τεσσαρασκαιδεκάτης ἐπινεμ(ήσεως),

ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμῶν τὴν χώραν τοῦ προνοητοῦ ἦτοι ὑ]ποδέκτου παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ

ἐνδόξ(ω) οἴκῳ

ἀποπληρῶσαι c. 25 letters

] . [. .] . [.] Πτολέμας καὶ Τανταπῆ

c. 35 letters

] ις ἐξωτικῶν τόπων

20 τῶν διαφερόντων τῇ ὑμῶν ὑπ]ερφυεῖα καὶ κατὰ τὸ παρεχόμενόν μοι
ἀπαιτήσιμον παρὰ τῶν χαρτουλαρίων] τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου τὴν μεθοδῖαν
τρέψαι κατὰ τῶν ὑπευθύνων γεωργῶν] κ[αὶ] πάντα εἰσπράξαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν
ἐπὶ τὴν ὑμῶν ὑπερφυεῖαν ἀκολουθῶς το]ῖς ἐνταγίοις τοῖς παρεχομένοις
παρ' ἐμοῦ c. 20 letters] . κτηματικοῖς τε καὶ οἰοισδῆποτε

25 c. 20 letters καὶ μετὰ τὴν γι]νομένην παρ' ἐμοῦ σπουδὴν καὶ ἣν
ἐνδείκνυμι μεθοδῖαν περὶ τὴν εἰσπραξιν, εἰ] δὲ [ς]υμβῇ ἔχθειςιν γενέσθαι ἐν

μόνοις

τοῖς κτήμασιν, ἐμὲ ταύτην ἀποσυμβιβάσα]ι, τὸν δὲ γεουχικὸν λόγον

ταύτην ἑαυτῷ καταλογίσασθαι ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς] λόγοις ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐν ᾧ μέλλω

c. 30 letters

] . . , τὰ δὲ ἐξωτικά τῆς αὐτῆς προνοησίας

30 ἐμὲ εἰς πλήρες λημματίσαι καὶ εἰσπράξαι] καὶ εἰςενέγκαι τῷ γεουχικῷ λόγῳ.
προσομολογῶ δὲ λημματίσαι τῷ εἰρημέν]ῳ γεουχικῷ λόγῳ

ὑπὲρ παραμυθίας τοῦ παραλημπτικο]ῦ μέτρου τῶν ἀρταβῶν ἑκατὸν

ἀρτάβας n . τὰ δὲ n νομίσματα] Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τὸ χορτόσπερμον

τὰ παρεχόμενα ὑπὲρ παραμυθίας τῆς αὐτῆς π]ρονοησίας ἐμὲ λημματίσαι

πρὸς τὸ ἔθος

35 c. 30 letters

] ε . [.] τὸν ἐμὸν μισθὸν ἦτοι

ὀψώνιον c. 20 letters

] τῆς αὐτῆς προνοησίας καθὼς

c. 25 letters

δῶ]ς δὲ τοὺς λόγους πάσης τῆς ἐμῆς

ὑποδοχῆς c. 15 letters

τοῦ τ]ε λήματος καὶ ἀναλώματος

καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν λογοθεσιῶν ἀποπλ]ηρώσω δίχα τινὸς ὑπερθέσεως.

40 προσομολογῶ δὲ καὶ γὰρ 10—12] . ος γραμματοδιδάσκαλος ἐγγυητῆς

ἐγγυᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναδέχεσθαι τὸν προγεγ]ραμμένον θαυμασιώτατον
 Φοιβάμμωνα προνοητὴν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ συν]αλλάγματι καὶ εἰ λοιπαδάριν
 φανείη ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐνταγίοις] ἐμὲ οἰκόθεν καὶ ἐξ ἰδίων ἀποδοῦναι
 καὶ ἀποπληρῶσαι τὸν αὐτὸν ἔνδοξον οἶκο]ν, ἀποταττόμενος τῇ νεαρᾷ
 διατάξει

45 c. 35 letters] . . . κατὰ πρώτην τάξιν καὶ εἰθ' οὕτως
 c. 30 letters] ἐνέχεσθαι διδοῦντα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
 c. 25 letters ὑποθ]έμενοι ἀμφότεροι εἰς τὸ δίκαιον τούτου
 τοῦ συναλλάγματος πάντα ἡμῶν τὰ ὑπάρ]χοντα καὶ ὑπάρξοντα ἰδικῶς καὶ
 γενικῶς ἐνεχύρου λόγῳ καὶ ὑποθήκης δι]καίῳ. κύριον <τὸ> συνάλλαγμα
 50 διςσὸν γραφὲν καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ὡ]μολογήσαμεν. + (m. 2) Φοιβάμμων
 πρε(σβύτερος) υἱὸς
 τοῦ μακαρίου Φίβ πεποίημαι τοῦτο] τὸ συνάλλαγμα τῆς προνοησίας . . .
 c. 30 letters καὶ] ἀποδώσω τοὺς λόγους μου καὶ τὰ ἀπο-
 c. 30 letters ὡς] πρόκ(εῖται). ὑπογράφ(ων) χειρὶ ἐμῇ
 ἀπέληξα. +

(m. 3) c. 15 letters γραματοδιδᾶς]καλος υἱὸς τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰούστου
 55 ὁ προγεγραμμένος ἐγγυνῶμαι κ]αὶ ἀναδέχομαι Φοιβάμμωνα
 πρε(σβύτερον) καὶ προνοητὴν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ συναλλ]άγματι κινδύνῳ ἐμῷ καὶ
 τῆς
 ὑποστάσεως μου ἀπάσης καὶ ὑ]πέγραψα χειρὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀπέληξα. +
] (vac.)
 (m. 4) + δι' ἐμοῦ ... συμβολαῖ]ογράφ(ου) ἐτελειώθη (vac.)
 + *di' emu ... ete]liotē / ā κ / iγ (ἔτους?) / cπς cνε +*

Back, downwards along the fibres:

60 (m. 1?) [+ συν]ἀλλ(αγμα) Φ[οιβάμμωνος ...
 Νίκης καὶ [...
 Σερήνου τ. θ . . . [...

12 ὑπογραφοντεῖδιοις	15 λογιζομῶ	16 1. τεσσαρεςκαιδεκάτης; επινεμῶ	17 υ]ποδεκτου (the
30 εἰσενεγ' και	34 1. λημματίσαι	38 1. λήμματος	39 ὑπερθεσεως
43 ἰδιων	44 αποτατ'τομενος	46 ὑπερ	48 ὑπαρξονταῖδικως
53 προκ/υπογραφ/; 1. χειρί, ἀπέλυσα	54 υἱος	57 1 ἐμῇ, ἀπέλυσα	58]ογραφ/
60 συν]αλλς?			

'In the name of the (holy?) immaculate and consubstantial trinity, father and son and holy spirit.
 (Month, day, indiction 13), year 286/255.'

'To Flavius Apion the most renowned and most extraordinary consular and patrician, landowner here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, slave, putting the formal question and supplying for his own master, the same most renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility (for the transaction), I, Phoebammon, priest (of the holy church?), son of the late Phib, with as guarantor, who accepts responsibility for him (me!) for the work which he does (I do!) as receiver for the stewardship entrusted to him (me!) of the holdings specified below and for the delivery of ... at his own risk and that of his property ..., teacher of the South School, son of the late Justus, both subscribing below in their own handwriting, originating from the same city of the Oxyrhynchites, greeting. I acknowledge by willing resolve and voluntary choice that I have come to an agreement with your glorious household through the persons who belong to you for one year reckoning from the thirteenth indiction, for crops of the fourteenth—God willing!—indiction, on condition that I fill the place of the steward or receiver to the same glorious household for ... Ptolemas and Tantape(?) ... and places outside which belong to your excellency and in accordance with the list of exactions delivered to me by the secretaries of the same glorious household carry out the proper procedure upon the tenant farmers who are liable and that I make all exactions and pay to your excellency according to the vouchers issued by me ... (to the tenants) of the holdings and to whichever ... and, after the care taken by me and the proper procedure which I demonstrate in the exaction, if it comes about that there are arrears in the holdings only, that I make these good, and that the landlord's account credit them to itself in my accounts at the time when I am about to ..., but the outside (revenues) of the same stewardship I am to credit in full and exact and deliver to the landlord's account. And I agree further to credit to the said landlord's account in respect of the consideration for the receiving measure, for every one hundred artabas, *n* artabas. And the *n* solidi on the Alexandrian standard and the hayseed provided in respect of the consideration for the same stewardship I am to credit according to the custom ... my wages or salary ... of the same stewardship just as ... And I shall deliver the accounts of all my receivership ... both receipts and expenses, and what remains from the audit of account I shall pay in full without any delay. I, too, ..., teacher, guarantor, acknowledge in addition that I guarantee and take responsibility for the aforewritten most admirable Phoebammon as steward in this contract and if a deficit appears in his vouchers I am to deliver it from my household and private resources and pay the same glorious household in full, waiving the claim to the new edict ... in(?) the first rank and then thus ... to be obliged to give on his behalf ... both of us pledging to the right of this contract all our possessions now and in future in particular and in general by way of pledge and by right of mortgage. The contract, written in two copies, is binding, and in answer to the formal question we gave our consent.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Phoebammon, priest, son of the late Phib, have concluded this contract for the stewardship of ... (Ptolemas and Tantape) ... and I shall render my accounts and the ... as is aforesaid. Subscribing in my own handwriting I delivered (this contract).'

(3rd hand) 'I, ..., teacher, son of the late Justus, the aforewritten, guarantee and undertake responsibility for Phoebammon, priest, as steward in this contract at my own risk and that of all my property, and I subscribed in my own handwriting and delivered (this contract).'

(4th hand) 'Through me, ..., contract writer, the agreement was completed.'

'Through me, ..., the agreement was completed.... (indiction) 13, (year) 286/255.'

Back. 'Contract of Phoebammon ... Nikes ... Serenu ...'

1 The invocation is clearly one of the Trinity. The form 2C, without *ἀγίας*, is statistically more likely, see the table in **3949** introd. para. 3. The other possibility is the unclassified formula including *ἀγίας*, see **3941** 1–3 n. The restoration of 2C would fill the gap with 47 letters, the alternative with 52 letters. Lines 3–6, where the wording is standard, are restored with 34, 37, 39, and 33 letters; this argument tends very slightly in favour of 2C. These formulas usually occupy less space than the number of letters would suggest.

2 Year 286/255 = 609/610, cf. 59. On Oxyrhynchite eras see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 36–42.

3–4 Cf. **3939** 4–5 n. for Flavius Apion III.

5–6 Cf. **3935** 7 n. for Menas.

7 For *πρε(σβύτερος)* see 50. In I **136** 7 the steward is a *διάκονος* and this word is followed by *τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας*, which may also be the case here.

7–11 The wording from *μετ' ἐγγνητοῦ τοῦ κτημάτων* is the same as in **136** 8–9, where there follows only *καὶ τῶν ἐξωτικῶν τόπων* (cf. 19 here) *ἐμοῦ* before the name of the guarantor. There is no reference there to the guarantor's risk, which reappears here in his subscription (56). In 8 *ποιεῖται* seems unavoidable in spite

of the damage, although ποιούμεαι, with με and μοι in place of αὐτόν (8) and αὐτῷ (9) would be expected. In **136** the guarantor's name is preceded by ἐμοῦ, which seems unacceptable here because the guarantor is referred to as αὐτοῦ twice in 10. The name seems to have occupied space for about fifteen letters here and in lines 40 and 54. Part of this may have been the status indication Aurelius (8 letters).

11 γραμματοδι]δασκάλου τοῦ Νοτίνου Χολίου (= Χολείου), cf. 40, 54. The phonetic spelling of the guarantor's autograph subscription (57), ὕ]πέγραψα χειρὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀπέληξα (l. ἐμῇ, ἀπέλυσα), seems to suggest that he was an elementary schoolteacher. Note Theophanes, *Chronographia* AM 5794 (ed. J. Classen, SHB i 12–13), on Theotecnus, a pagan adviser of Galerius: τὰ δὲ ὑπομνήματα τοῦ σωτήρος ἐπλάσατο καὶ πανταχόσε ἐφ' ὕβρει ἀπέστειλε, καὶ τοῖς γραμματοδιδασκάλοις τοὺς παῖδας διδάσκειν προσέταξεν, ὥς διαγελάσθαι τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς μυστήριον παρασκευάζων. Cf. Eusebius, *HE* 9. 5. 1, using the same term.

In the papyri the word γραμματοδιδάσκαλος is rare and occurs mostly in unhelpful contexts: SB I 680 (AD 108): a γ. built a wall for Leto out of piety; P. Mert. III 113. 8 (II): a bare mention in a private letter; XXIV **2421** 48 (early IV): a γ. received wheat, barley, and money; Stud. Pal. XX 117. 18 (AD 411): a γ. subscribed for an illiterate person. More interesting is SB III 7268, a letter on the back of a document of the reign of Trajan. The address is given in the following form:

εἰς τὸ Μελανκόμου X [Π]το[λεμ]αίω
 γραμματοδιδασκαλ(εῖον) ἀπ[ὸ] Ὑραπί[ωνος].

I suspect that we should read γραμματοδιδασκάλ(ω) to agree with [Π]το[λεμ]αίω, cf. III **529** 18 εἰς τὰ Πανσανίου; XLI **2980** 14 εἰς τὰ Θέωνο(ς) Ἀπολλω() τραπεζίτου; perhaps also P.IFAO II 11. 5 ἀπώδωκε Δουκίᾳ μητρὶ εἰς Τζαμ[], where ed. pr. suggests e.g. Τααμ[πεμοῦ], which is possible, but where εἰς τὰ Ἀμ[μωνίου] vel sim. is perhaps as likely, and X **1293** 43 εἰς Τα. π() [τ]οῦ Ἀπολλωνοῦ(ολίτου), where εἰς τὰ followed by a personal name may be suspected. However, the interesting point is that the writer asks for help ἐπεὶ χειμάζομαι προτάσσει τις τιθεμέναις μοι γεωμετρικαῖς (l. γεωμ-), 'because I am tempest tossed over some problems in geometry that have been set for me'. Ptolemaeus was competent in mathematics as well as elementary Greek.

The remaining two references are from the second century BC, P. Ryl. IV 572. [10], BGU VI 1214. 4, and show that Egyptian γραμματοδιδάσκαλοι wrote contracts in Egyptian. The well preserved one, BGU 1214, has this wording: Α[ἰ]γυπτίων γραμματοδιδασκάλων τῶν εἰσθότων γράφειν τὰ συναλλάγματα κατὰ τὸν τῆς χώρας νόμον.

However, the most interesting feature here is the mention of 'the Southern School' in Oxyrhynchus in AD 609/10, especially because it clearly indicates the presence of at least one other school from which this one had to be distinguished. More debatable, perhaps, is the possible implication of the name that it was in some sense a public institution, cf. A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* ii 997–1004, W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* 306–12. We might well have been less surprised by a reference to a school named after some particular person at this date, although a δημόσιος γραμματικός is known at Oxyrhynchus in the mid third century, see P. Coll. Youtie II 66. The word σχολεῖον does not otherwise occur in the papyri.

12–13 For the late Justus see 54. The wording is slightly different in **136** 10–11: νιού τοῦ μακαρίου Ἰωάννου, ἐξῆς ὑπογράφοντες ἰδίους γράμμασιν, ἀμφοτέρω δὲ δυνάμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως, χαίρειν.

14 For the restoration cf. **3958** 14–15; **136** 11–12 has this phrase too, preceded by ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ ὁ πρωτότυπος Σεργῆνος διάκονος.

15–16 The wording of **136** 13–14 is much longer: λογιζόμενον ἀπὸ λοιπάδος χρυσικῶν τῆς δευτέρας ἡδ(ικτίωνος) καὶ καρπῶν καὶ χρυσικῶν καὶ προσόδων τῆς ἐν θεῷ δευτέρας ἐπινεμήσεως.

16 τεσσαρσκαίδεκάτης = τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτης, cf. **3954** 32. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 203(2).

18–19 Each of the stewards of the Apion estates had under his control an area taking in several hamlets, cf. LV **3804** introd. (p. 96). This combination is not otherwise known. It is possible that the damaged endorsement gives us the names of two more of the places concerned, Νίκης and Σεργήνου, see 60–62 n.

Both the places here are unknown to P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, although there is a place called ἐποίκιον Πτολεμαῖ. A photograph of VI **989** shows that that is the correct form there. The same is definitely implied by the printed version of SB XIV 12130. 33. In XIX **2233** 8 Πτολεμα[] could be Πτολεμαῖ, Πτολέμα[], or Πτολεμαῖδος.

In **136** 15–16 the list of place names is followed by καὶ τῶν ἐξωτικῶν αὐτῶν τόπων τῶν διαφερόντων τῇ ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείᾳ; here perhaps it was καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐξωτικῶν τόπων, if that is not a contradiction in terms; or ἅμα, ἐπὶ, ἐν αὐτοῖς?.

22 From **136** 19 we expect εἰς τὸ πάντα εἰσπράξαι κτλ., and ε[ἰς τὸ] is a possible reading in place of κ[αὶ], but it leaves an isolated tall riser before ε[ἰς which cannot be the expected nu of γεωργῶν. The tall riser and the following diagonal riser together suit kappa.

26 ἔχθescin = ἔκθescin. The spelling with chi is in fact more frequent in the papyri, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 89.

28 ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐν ᾧ μέλλω. No parallel is found in **136** 26, which has nothing between ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις and τὰ δὲ ἐξωτικά, cf. 29 here. The clause may refer to the end of the period of office.

31-4 In **136** the wheat premium was fifteen artabas per hundred, perhaps related to the cancellus measure, cf. LV **3804** p. 128. The rest consisted of money only, twelve solidi on the Alexandrian standard. Hayseed is not mentioned. It does appear in the stewards' accounts, cf. **3804** 244 n. .

35 For the steward's wages or ὀψώνιον cf. LV **3804** 154 n.

38 There is nothing between ὑποδοχῆς and τοῦ τε λήμματος in **136** 32. Add here perhaps ἦτοι προνοησίας, cf. 17 προνοητοῦ ἦτοι ὑποδέκτου, cf. **136** 15.

42 λοιπαδάριν = -άριον, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 25-9. This is the normal neuter noun meaning 'arrears'; **136** is unique in its use of λοιπαδάριος as an adjective agreeing with the person (33, 36) and meaning 'in arrears'.

44-6 On the waiver of Justinian's Novella 4 see A. Amelotti, G. I. Luzzatto, *Le costituzioni giustinianee nei papiri e nelle epigrafi* 64. What follows is without a parallel so far.

46 διδοῦντα. Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 383; **136** 35.

53 ἀπέλησα = ἀπέλυσα. Cf. **3958** 39. This is the equivalent of Latin *absolui*; on the process and problem of *absolutio* see M. Amelotti, *Alle origini del notariato italiano* 35-8, 56. In the West the business of handing the copies of the contract to the parties was the responsibility of the notary, who sometimes wrote *compleui* (cf. **3933** 40 n.) *et absolui*. In the East, including the papyri, the party who makes the acknowledgement delivers a copy to the other and it is he who writes ἀπέλυσα at the end of his subscription, cf. below 57 n.

55 ἐγγυνῶμαι. A photograph of **136**, now in Cairo, shows in 46 ἐγγυομαι = ἐγγυνῶμαι, cf. **136** 35, not ἔπομαι as printed. In the next line the same man wrote ἐν τούτῳ τῷ (= τούτῳ τῷ) συναλλάγμα(τι) and συμφωνεῖ (= συμφωνεῖ).

57 ἀπέλησα. Cf. 53 n. For the guarantor also to subscribe in this way seems rare, but cf. I **136** 45, 48.

58-59 Cf. **3933** 40 and n., **3936** 35, **3942** 36, **3955** 28, **3958** 40. I have not succeeded in recognizing the hand of this notary among the photographs of the notarial subscriptions from Oxyrhynchus published in J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* Taff. 40-52.

59 Since ιγ = 13 is the indiction number, cf. 16, and 286/255 is the Oxyrhynchite era for 609/10, see 2, cf. introd. para. 2, we would like to read some form of ἰνδικτίωνος before ιγ and after it some form of (ἔτους), but I cannot recognize the first at least, see Plate VI. On (ἔτους?) see **3960** 3 n.

60-62 This endorsement is very much faded and doubtfully read. The beginning of 61 may give us the place name Νίκης, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 122. The beginning of 62 certainly has Cερήνου, which in this position is likely to be a place name too, cf. *ibid.* p. 171. If these are correct, they will have appeared already in line 18-19 of the contract.

3953. FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT

53 1B.26(F)/D(11)a

17 × 11.5 cm

23 September 610?

The combination of the Trinitarian formula of the invocation, which is of type 2C, cf. **3940** 1-2 n., with the absence of a regnal or consular date clause makes it clear that this is a document of the interregnum between Phocas and Heraclius. A difficulty arises in the contradiction between the indiction number, 14 = 610/611, and the era numbers, 286/255 = 609/610. Since the day is Thoth 26 = 23 September, the twenty-sixth day of the Egyptian year, it is likely that the error lies in a failure to advance the era numbers correctly near the beginning of the year. This contrasts with the statistical observation that the Oxyrhynchite era numbers are the most reliable of all

the dating methods of the period, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *BASP* 17 (1980) 21, but the alternative is to suppose that the clerk wrote indiction 14 at the beginning of the thirteenth indiction, more than eleven months before the beginning of the fourteenth indiction, which is clearly less likely. If by any chance, however, this were what in fact happened, the date here would be 23 September 609 and this would be the earliest surviving document of the interregnum, and fall in the tantalizing gap between 11 June 609 (SB I 10798. 1–5, cf. 3933 2–3 n., item 12 in the list), when the reign of Phocas is last acknowledged, and 27 February 610 (SB I 5270), at present the earliest certain date in the interregnum, cf. 3949 introd., but also against this view are the signs that an attempt has been made to correct the second of the era numbers, see 2 n.

The contract is written along the fibres of the recto of the original roll, as shown by a sheet-join running vertically about 8 cm from the left edge.

+ ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς ἀχρ[ά]ντου καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος πατρὸς καὶ
 υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος, Θῶθ κς, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιδ, ἔτους cπς cνε.
 Φλ(αουῖω) Ἀπίωνι τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυστάτῳ
 ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ πατρικίῳ γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ
 5 λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρρυχ(ιτῶν) [πόλει δ]ιὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντος
 καὶ προσπορίζο[ντος τῷ] ἰδίῳ δεσπότη τῷ αὐτῷ πανευφ(ήμῳ)
 ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν [καὶ ἐνο]χήν. Αὐρήλιος Πα[. . .] ὕθιος
 υἱὸς Ἀνοῦπ μητρὸς ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Νοτίνου Χωρίου
 τοῦ Ὁξ[υρ]ρυχίτου νομοῦ διαφέροντος τῇ ὑμῶν ὑπερφ(υεία)
 10 c. 18 letters] . [c. 15 letters] [.

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) + χειρογραφ(ία) [

2 υἱου, ἰνδ/, cπςcνε: ε corr. to σ (?) 3 φλς, ὑπερφυστατω 4 ὑπατων 5 οξυρρυχς
 6 ἰδιω, πανευφ/ 8 υἱος 9 ὑμωνὑπερφ/ 11 χειρογραφ/

'In the name of the immaculate and consubstantial trinity, father and son and holy spirit. Thoth 26, indiction 14, year 286 (and) 255.'

'To Flavius Apion the most renowned and most extraordinary consular and patrician, landowner here also in the most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, slave, putting the formal question and supplying for his own master, the same most renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility (for the transaction).'

'I, Aurelius Pa ... thus son of Anup, mother ... , from the hamlet of Notinu Choriui of the Oxyrhynchite nome belonging to your excellency ...'

Back. 'Cheirograph ...'

1–2 On the invocation see introd.

2 On the contradictory elements of the dating see introd. There are some fairly substantial remains of added ink around the final epsilon, and especially what looks very like the backwards curving tail of σ.

This could well be an attempt to change the number to *ενς*, which I take to be correct, but there are no signs of a corresponding change to the preceding *ενς*, which I take to be an error for *ενζ*. The solid black dot above nu is not immediately comprehensible; we expect another horizontal, like the one above the previous number.

3-7 On Flavius Apion III see **3939** 4-5 n. and on Menas see **3935** 7 n.

7 What is printed seems to imply *Παπ[ν]οῦθιος*, but *Παμοῦθιος* is not excluded.

8 *Νοτίνου Χωρίου*. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 124, where it is registered as NOTINON *χωρίον*; this new reference shows that it is analogous with other *ἐποίκια*, which are usually registered there with the name in the genitive form. The point which she makes against the incorrect form *Νοτίνου χωρίον* is well justified.

3954. RECEIPT FOR THE PRICE OF WINE

64 6B.56/F(1)a

12.5 × 35 cm

12 February 611

This is the earliest exactly dated document of the reign of Heraclius. I **138** refers at three places, lines 14, 20, and 43, to Choeac 15 of the same Egyptian year, equivalent to 11 December 610, as the starting date of that contract. There the month and day are lost from the date clause, but it is very doubtful that they would have been the same; the unusual insistence on the starting date suggests that the document was drawn up later. P. Lond. V 1736 is dated 25 February 611.

The contract is addressed to Flavius Georgius, administrator (*διοικητής*) of the household of Flavius Apion III at Cynopolis. A *dioecetes* called Georgius plays a prominent part in a group of letters described in XVI **1844** introd. There are some indications in the correspondence which may encourage us to identify him with his namesake in this document. The clearest is in **1855**, addressed to Georgius *dioecetes*, which begins, 'When I learnt that your magnificence had arrived at Cynopolis, I resolved to write'. Another is in **1854** 7-8, where Victor the landlord's representative (*ἀντιγεωύχος*), after complaining that Georgius was detaining three estate employees, says, 'I on my side could have (BL VII 141 *ἐδυνόμην* for ed. pr. *ἐδεχόμην*) made the people who come from Cynopolis to Oxyrhynchus disappear from sight, and yet I did nothing of the sort'. It is implied that Georgius detained travellers from Oxyrhynchus in Cynopolis. Other indications are slighter: **1860** is a letter to Georgius from an *ἐκδικος* of Cynopolis; the Cynopolite village of *Φερετνοῦς/Περετνοῦς* is mentioned in XVI **1937**, cf. XLIX **3489** 3 n. The correspondence was assigned to the sixth or seventh century, and connected with a series of receipts dated to 618, see XVI p. 28. This document gives us a slightly earlier fixed date, if the identification of Georgius is correct. Compare also **3957** 8 n., on Flavius Victor.

The contract acknowledges receipt of an unspecified sum of money by five Cynopolite villagers in full payment for two hundred Samian jars of wine. The fact that the sum is not stated recalls the class of documents lately called 'sales on delivery', which are viewed as concealed loans with illegal interest converted into kind, see R. S. Bagnall, *GRBS* 18 (1977) 85-96, esp. 95-6, cf. J. Modrzejewski, *Archiv* 34 (1988)

133-4, with the group of examples where wine is the product sold published by H. Harrauer in R. Pintaudi, *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Pap. Flor. VII) 109-126, and by H. Harrauer, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *CE* 57 (1982) 296-302. Here, however, there is no promise to deliver the wine, suggesting that it had been delivered already. Moreover, the wine is linked with the crops of the current indiction (31-2), that is the vintage of AD 610, whereas 'sales on delivery' usually refer to the coming summer and the vintage of the coming indiction, which in this case would be the summer of AD 611. The seventh century Oxyrhynchite receipt for part of the price of wine soon to be delivered, which was published by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 33 (1979) 250-3, is different both from the usual 'sales on delivery' and from this seemingly simpler transaction.

A sheet join running vertically about 3 cm from the left edge shows that the contract is written along the fibres of the recto of the original roll from which the piece was cut. The endorsement running vertically along the fibres of the back, the original verso, is very much abraded.

]. [

- + ἐν ὀνό[μα]τι τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
 Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος. βασιλ(είας)
 τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότης
 5 Φλ(αουῖου) Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου
 καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους πρώτου,
 (vac.) Μεχειρ ιη, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιδ. (vac.)
 Φλαουῖω Γεωργίῳ τῷ λαμπροτ(άτῳ)
 διοικητῇ τοῦ ἐνδόξου οἴκου
 10 τοῦ πανευφήμου πατρικίου
 Ἀπίωνος ταύτης τῆς Ἄνω Κυνοπολ(ιτῶν πόλεως)
 ἐκ πατρὸς τοῦ μακαρίου (vac.)
 ἀπὸ τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν
 πόλεως (v.) Αὐρήλιοι Μακάρις
 15 μείζων υἱὸς Ἱερεμίου μητρὸς
 Μαρίας καὶ Ἰωάννης υἱὸς
 Ὀριγένους μητρὸς Μαρίας καὶ
 Μηνᾶς υἱὸς Ἀνοῦπ μητρὸς Μαρτυρίας
 καὶ Ἀβραὰμ υἱὸς Φουνσίου μητρὸς

2 Ἰησου
11 κυνοπολ?

3 βασιλς
15 υἱὸς Ἱερεμίου

4 εὐσεβς
16 Ἰωαννηνυῖος

5 φλς

7 ἰνδ/
18-19 υἱὸς

8 φλαουῖω; λαμπροτ/?

- 20 Ἐρεβέκκας καὶ Μηνᾶς υἱὸς Γεωργίου
μητρὸς Σοφίας καὶ Ὀριγένης υἱὸς
Στεφάνου μητρὸς Ἐρεβέκκας,
οἱ πάντες ἀπὸ κώμης Ἀψέμψεως
τοῦ Ἄνω [Κ]υνοπολίτου νομοῦ, χ(αίρειν).
25 ὁμολ[ο]γοῦμεν εἰληφέναι καὶ
δεδέχθαι καὶ πεπληρώσθαι
παρὰ τῆς ὑμῶν λαμπρότητος
τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ διαπραθέντος
αὐτῇ παρ' ἡμῶν οἴνου ἄχρι ἐνὸς ὀβολοῦ,
30 τουτέστιν οἶνον Κάμια διακόσια,
ἐπὶ καρπῶν τῆς παρούσης
τεσσαρσκαιδεκάτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)
ἄχρι ἐνὸς ὀβολοῦ, τουτέστιν <οῖν>ου Κάμια
διακόσια. ὁμολογοῦμεν τοῦ λοιποῦ οὐδένα
35 λόγον ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν μεγαλ(οπρέπειαν) διὰ τὸ
ἡμᾶς εἰληφέναι καὶ δεδέχθαι
καὶ πεπληρώσθαι παρ' αὐτῆς
τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ διαπραθέντος
αὐτῇ παρ' ἡμῶν <οἴνου> ἄχρι ἐνὸς ὀβολοῦ
40 καὶ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν τῆς <τῆς> τιμῆς
τοῦ εἰρημένου οἴνου καταβολῆς
τῇδε τὴν πληρωτικὴν
ἀποχή[ν] ἐξεθέμεθα αὐτῇ, ἥτις
.....[.]. καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθέντες) ὁμολογ(ήσαμεν). γί(νεται)
45 (ἔτους) σπζ ςγς'', ἰδ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος). (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Μακάρις
μειζ(ων) κα[ὶ] Ἰωάννης καὶ Μ[η]νᾶς κ[α]ὶ Ἀβραάμ
καὶ Μηνᾶς] κ[αὶ] Ὡ[ρ]γ[ε]ν[η]ς οἱ] προγ[ε]γραμμ[ε]ν(οί)
c. 20 letters].....
c. 20 letters]...[...].
50 c. 20 letters]...[....].

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 1?) + ἀπόδειξις(ις) τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀψέμψεως τοῦ Ἄνω Κυνοπολίτου νομοῦ.

20-21 υἱός 24 χ- 32 1. τεσσαρσκαιδεκάτης; ἰνδ/ 35 μεγαλς 44 ἐπερ/ωμολογςγι/
45 L, ἰνδ/; 1. Αὐρήλιοι 46 μειζ/

'In the name of our master Jesus Christ the god and saviour. In the reign of our most godly and most pious master Flavius Heraclius, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, first year, Mecheir 18, indiction 14.'

'To Flavius Georgius the most splendid administrator of the glorious household of the most renowned patrician Apion in this city of the Upper Cynopolites, whose father was the late (blank) from the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, the Aurelii Macaris, headman, son of Jeremias mother Maria, and John son of Horigenes mother Maria, and Menas son of Anoup mother Martyria, and Abraham son of Funsis mother Erebecca, and Menas son of Georgius mother Sophia, and Horigenes son of Stephanus mother Erebecca, all from the village of Apsempsis of the Upper Cynopolite nome, greeting. We acknowledge that we have taken and accepted and received in full from your excellency the price of wine sold to you by us to the last obol, that is, two hundred Samian jars of wine of the produce of the present fourteenth indiction to the last obol, that is, two hundred Samian jars of wine. We acknowledge for the future that we have no claim against your magnificence because we have taken and accepted and received in full from you the price of wine sold to you by us to the last obol and in certification of the payment of the price of the said wine we have issued to you this full receipt, which (is binding, written in one copy?), and in answer to the formal question we gave our assent. The transaction took place in year 287/256, indiction 14.'

(2nd hand) 'We the Aurelii Macaris, headman, and John and Menas and Abraham and Menas and Horigenes, the aforesaid persons, ...'

Back. (1st hand?) 'Certificate of the persons from Apsempsis of the Upper Cynopolite nome.'

1 The trace is probably from a cross or some other Christian symbol in the top margin, cf. **3933** 1, **3957** 1; alternatively, it could be part of a correction added above line 2, see 2-3 n, but this could not have added the expected *ἡμῶν* after *σωτήρος* in line 3.

2-3 This unique form of the Christ invocation, which is rarely varied, see *CE* 56 (1981) 113, 115-118, omits *κυρίου καὶ* before *δεσπότου* and has *ἡμῶν* after *δεσπότου* instead of after *σωτήρος*. At present these seem to be errors without significance, perhaps due to the recent return of the old formula.

3-7 This is the earliest extant date by the regnal year of Heraclius, cf. introd. The formula, which also occurs in **3957** 4-6, is new. It differs from the only one hitherto attested for the Oxyrhynchite nome, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 68, in that it omits *μεγίστου εὐεργέτου* after *δεσπότου*, cf. *ibid.* p. 85 (foot). One possible explanation might be that this phrase, though common in titulatures from Justin II onwards, had not yet been introduced for Heraclius. It does appear in I **138**, which could be earlier than this, but see above introd. para. 1 for the uncertainty. A new inspection of XXIV **2420**, supposed to date from February/March 611, shows that it has *ἔτους δ* in the date, not *ἔτους α* as in ed. pr., and therefore dates from 614. That leaves **3955** of 23 September 611 as the earliest regnal clause of Heraclius to contain *μεγίστου εὐεργέτου*, which occurs again in **3956** of 1 October 611, but is omitted in **3957**, here assigned to 21 February 612, but possibly of 20 February 611. An alternative explanation might be that these two documents are influenced by the scribal customs of neighbouring nomes. **3954** is a contract between Cynopolite villagers and an inhabitant of Oxyrhynchus, and **3957** was drawn up in Septhta, a village known to have connections with the Heracleopolite nome, see **3957** 6 n. Unfortunately there are no surviving dates for the reign from Cynopolis and only one from Heracleopolis, which is of 630, from the joint reign of Heraclius and his son, who are in fact called *μεγίστων εὐεργετῶν*, BGU I 314, see Bagnall, Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 72. This is too late to be of much help, so that the reason for the omission in these cases remains doubtful.

8-9 Cf. introd. para. 2. Add perhaps P. Laur. II 47. 9, SB V 7655. 11, VI 9107. 6, all texts where a *dioecetes* of the same name is mentioned.

Flavius is the usual indication of higher status, derived from the dynastic name of the house of Constantine, cf. J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 33-63, 13 (1974) 283-304. For *dioecetae* so titled cf. *ZPE* 11 (1973) 57-8, n. 106.

9 διοικητῇ. Cf. E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates* 80-81, 85-7, A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* ii 789-90.

10-11 On Flavius Apion III see **3939** 4-5 n.

11 ταύτης τῆς Ἄνω Κυνοπολ(ιτῶν πόλεως). The contract is between Cynopolite villagers, see 23-4, and an inhabitant of Oxyrhynchus who was administrator of the Apion household in Cynopolis. It seems to be a private transaction, not estate business.

On Ἄνω, which distinguishes this Cynopolis from another in the Delta, see XLVII **3345** 50 n.

Perhaps we should assume an omission and print *Κυνοπολ(ιτῶν) <πόλεως>*. At the end it looks as if *ολ* was crowded into a small space and no further mark of abbreviation was added.

12 Georgius' patronymic was evidently unknown to the clerk, who did, however, know that his father was dead. Possibly the clerk had an exemplar which was illegible at this point.

14 Μακάρις (= -άριος). Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 25-6, 28-9, on this new type of declension.

15 μέλιων. In this case, as often but not always, the term evidently means village headman, cf. P. Mich. XIV 683. 1 n., LVI 3871 3 n.

19 Φούνσιον. The nominative is usually, perhaps always, Φούνσις (P. Tebt. I 80. 25, SB I 5396. 1); Φούνσι[ο]ς·X[] in P. Genova II 63. 6 is uncertain; it might be Φούνσι[ς]·C[] or c[]X[]. For the genitive in -ίου cf. P. Ross.-Georg. III 36. 6, and above 14 n. for this declension. Genitive Φούνσιος is more frequent: SB I 1246. 1-2, III 7046. 1, VI 9358 (= P. Lund. VI 8). 7, P. Brux. 4. 14-15.

23 Αψέμψεως. This is a new village name, i.e. not registered in A. Calderini, S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici* or its *Supplemento* i.

29 ἄχρι ἐνός ὀβολοῦ, cf. 33, 39. This recalls the phrases ἄχρι/μέχρι/ἕως ἀccαρίου ἐνός used especially in wills and related documents, see L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, *Currency* 121 s.v. ἀccάριον; once at least ὀβολοῦ appears in place of ἀccαρίου, ibid. 132 s.v. ὀβολός. They occur occasionally in other contexts, e.g. LIV 3758 11, 38 (restitution of excess tax levy, AD 325), P. Köln III 155. 16-17 (purchase of a house, VI AD).

30 Κάμια, cf. 33. See H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* i 153-5, 170. The Samian jar remains an extremely rare measure.

31-2 Crops were assigned to the indiction beginning after the harvest season, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 26. In this case the crops of the fourteenth indiction were those of summer 610, cf. introd.

32 τεσσαρσκαϊδεκάτης = τεσσαρεσκαϊδεκάτης. Cf. 3952 16 n.

35 μεγαλ(οπρέπειαν). Cf. XVI 1855 1 μεγαλοπρέ(πεια), addressed probably, see above introd., to the same person.

44 We expect something like ἦτις κυρ(ία) οὐσα ἀπλ(ῇ) γραφ(εῖς)α καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθέντες) κτλ., cf. XVI 1898 30-32. The remains at the beginning of the line seem not to suit κυρία; they might suit ἀπλ(), cf. the slightly different wording in VIII 1134 16-17, PSI XII 1265. 14, but after that it is hard to recognize γραφ().

45-50 The subscription will have acknowledged the substance of the contract above and will have continued with the subscription of the amanuensis who wrote for the villagers. In the last three lines the writing becomes very cramped and seems to be blotted or corrected, especially in 48.

51 Cf. e.g. XVI 1981 32.

3955. LEASE OF LAND

4 1B.73/H(b)

10 × 32 cm

23 September 611

This fragmentary document preserves enough of the regnal year clause to show that the clerk advanced the regnal year number to 2 before the first anniversary of the *dies imperii* of Heraclius, which strongly suggests that yet again the Oxyrhynchite custom was to assimilate all reckonings to the Egyptian traditional new year's day on Thoth 1 = 29 August, or, as in this case, 30 August, because the preceding Egyptian year was a leap year ending with six epagomenal days instead of the usual five. This assimilation was the practice for most of the reign of Maurice, see General Introduction p. 57, and there are indications of it for the reign of Phocas too, see 3933 2-3 n., item 12 in the list (pp. 61-2).

The land lease is of the comparatively rare type which specifies its object as an irrigation machine with land, see LV 3803 introd. Of the four parallels cited there the most useful for the understanding of this example is P. Berl. Zilliacus 7, and the terminology is echoed in XVI 1968, a lease of six aruras οὐcas ἐν μηχανῇ καλουμέ(νῃ)

τοῦ Μοναστηρίου. Neither of these is close enough in wording to solve the problems of restoring the text, since about thirty to thirty-five letters are lost at the beginning of each line, but an outline of the nature and structure of the document can be recovered.

The back is blank so far as it is preserved, but it is likely that an endorsement of the usual kind has been lost along with the beginnings of the lines. There is a sheet join running vertically downwards about 5.5 cm from the right hand edge, showing that the contract is written on what was the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut.

+ ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότου Ἰησοῦ Χρι]στοῦ τοῦ θε[ο]ῦ καὶ
σωτήρος ἡμῶν.

βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν] δεσπότου
μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλ(αουῖου) Ἡρακλείου
τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους] δευτέρου[υ],
Θῶθ κε⁻, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιε.

] (vac.)

Φλαουῖω (?) + 25–35 letters] κ[α]τὰ Ἀρκαδίαν
τάξεως υἱῶ τοῦ τῆς

5 μακαρίας (?) μηνῆς . . . ἀπὸ τῆς λα]μπρᾶς Ὁξυρυγ(ι)τ(ῶν) πόλεως
Αὐρήλιος (?) . . . υἱὸς Παύλου μητρὸς . . .] ὀρμώμενος ἀπὸ ἐποικίου
Εἰρήνης

τοῦ μεγάλου Ἑρμουπολίτου νομοῦ κτήματ]ος τῆς ὑμετέρας
λαμπρό(τητος) χαίρειν. ἐκουσίως
ἐπιδέχομαι μισθώσασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτο]ς (ἔτους) σπη⁻ + σνζ⁻, τῆς
παρού(σης) πεντεκαίδεκ(άτης)
ἰνδ(ικτίωνος), κατασπορᾶς δὲ καὶ συλλογῆς καρπ]ῶν τῆς σὺν θ(εῶ)
πρώτης ἐπινεμήσεως,

10 τὴν διαφέρουσιν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ λαμπρ]ό(τητι) ὀλόκληρον μηχανὴν
καλουμέ(νην)

c. 30–35 letters] ἐξηρτισμέ(νην) πάσῃ ξυλικῇ
ἐξαρτία

καὶ σιδηρώμασιν μετὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐπικειμένου ἐ]ν αὐτῇ λάκκου καὶ
ὑδρεύματος

καὶ κυκλευτηρίου καὶ μηχανικῶν ὀργάνων] καὶ φυτῶν παντοί[ων]
καὶ παντὸς ἐτέρο[υ]

2 φλς 3 κῆϊνδ/ / 4 υῖω 5 οξυρυγχς 7 ὑμετεραςλαμπρ^ο/ 8 ∟σπη + σνζ,
παρ^{ου}/ (ου in monogram), πεντεκαίδεκς 9 σνθ 10 λαμπρς]^ο, καλουμς 11 ἐξηρτισμς

- δικαίου + c. 20–25 letters] . . . καὶ τελέ[σω
τῇ ὑμ]ετέρα λαμπρό(τητι)
15 ὑπὲρ φόρου ταύτης καθ' ἑκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπ[ί τε Νειλοβρόχου [καὶ
ἀβρόχου] ζήτου
c. 30–35 letters] . . λλ. λ. [. . .] . . ια. [.] .
c. 30–35 letters] . . εκτου ἐξαγίου τῇ
[ὑ]μετέ[ρα λα]μπρό(τητι)
c. 30–35 letters] . εκτου αὐτῆς ἐξ . . [.] . . .
δεκαπέ-
ντε, δώσω δὲ καὶ τὰ ἑκτακτα πάντα καὶ τὰς γεο]υχικὰς ὑπηρεσίας
πάσας καὶ τὰ ἑορτικά
20 c. 30–35 letters] . . πρὸς . . . , ὅνπερ φόρον
ἀκίνδυνον ὄντα παντὸς κινδύνου (?) ἐπάναγ]κες ἀποδώσω αὐτῇ
ἐν τῷ δέοντι καιρῷ
ἀνυπερθέτως, τὴν δὲ νομὴν τῆς προειρημένης] μηχανῆς ἄτρωτον
ἀβλαβῇ φυλάξω
καὶ παραδώσω τῇ ὑμετέρα λαμπρό(τητι) ὁπότε βουληθ]ε[ί]η ὡς καὶ
παρείληφα. κυρ(ία) ἢ μίσθ(ωσις) ἀπλῇ
γραφ(εῖσα) καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς) ὠμολ(όγησα). (m. 2) c. 10] . . . υἱὸς
Παύλου ὁ προγεγρα(μμένος)
25 πεποίημαι ταύτην τὴν μί]σθωσιν καὶ ἀποδώσω τὸν
προγεγρα(μμένον) φόρον κατὰ τὴν ἀ]νωτέραν διήγησιν
c. 20 letters] . ἔγραψα ὑ(πέρ) αὐτοῦ ἀγρ(αμμάτου) ὄντος + .
] (vac.)
(m. 3?) di'emu ... eteli]othh̄ + .
- 14, 17 λαμπρ̄ς 23 κυρ/, μισθ̄ς 24 προγεγρ̄α/ 27 υ/, αγρ/ 28 eteli]othh̄

'In the name of the lord and master Jesus Christ our god and saviour. In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Heraclius the eternal Augustus and Imperator, second year, Thoth 25, indiction 15.'

'To Flavius (?) ... of the *officium* ... in Arcadia, son of ... of blessed (?) memory from the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, Aurelius (?) ... son of Paul, mother ..., coming from the hamlet of Irene of the Great Hermopolite nome, a holding of your excellency, greeting. Of my own volition I undertake to take on lease from the present year 288/257, the present fifteenth indiction, for the sowing and gathering of the crop of the first, God willing, indiction, the entire irrigation machine belonging to your excellency, called ... fitted with all the wooden equipment and iron fittings, along with the cistern situated in it and the well and wheel and the machinery of the irrigator and the plants of all kinds and every other right ... and I shall pay to your excellency in respect of rent on this each year for both Nile-watered and unwatered land in wheat ..., ... fifteen, and I shall supply all the extra payments in kind and all the services to the landlord and the festival contributions ..., which rent, free of liability to all risk (?), I shall necessarily deliver to you

at the proper time without delay, and the right of possession of the aforesaid irrigation machine I shall preserve free of injury and damage and shall return to your excellency whenever you may wish just as I received it. The lease, written in a single copy, is binding and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.

(2nd hand) I, Aurelius (?) ... son of Paul, the aforewritten person, have concluded this lease and I shall deliver the aforewritten rent in accordance with the above statement (as aforesaid?). I, ..., wrote on his behalf because he is illiterate.'

(3rd hand?) 'Through me, ..., the completion was made. ...'

1 Formula 1 is normal, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *CE* 56 (1981) 121.

2-3 This was the only form of regnal clause known at Oxyrhynchus, see Bagnall, Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 68-9, but see now **3954** 3-7, **3957** 4-6 and nn.

Thoth 25 of indiction 15 was 23 September 611, since 610/11 was a year ending with six epagomenal days instead of five. The *dies imperii* of Heraclius was 5 October 610, see **3949** introd. According to the system prescribed by Justinian's Novella 47, see Bagnall, Worp, op. cit. 45, his second regnal year should not have begun before 5 October 611. We have already seen that Oxyrhynchite datings by Maurice and Phocas tend to assimilate all reckonings to the traditional Egyptian year beginning on 29 or 30 August, see pp. 57, 61-2, so it is no great surprise to find an indication of the same practice in the reign of Heraclius, cf. introd.

4 Φλαουῖω (?). The status indication Flavius is likely, since the lessor was evidently in the imperial service in the *officium* of some high official in the province of Arcadia, probably in that of the *praeses*, see J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 11 (1973) 58-9, cf. 51-6 and *ZPE* 13 (1974) 286.

] κ[α]τὰ Ἀρκαδίαν τάξεως. The implication seems clear, see previous note, but these precise words do not occur elsewhere. Normally we find Ἀρκαδίας or τῆς Ἀρκάδων ἐπαρχίας in the genitive. This alternative may arise from the translation of a Latin phrase with *per Arcadium*, compare Not. Dig., Or XXVIII 13 ... *comitis rei militaris per Aegyptum*. The very similar κατὰ Θηβαΐδα occurs much more frequently, e.g. BGU XII 2146. 3; 2147. 3-4; 2151. 3-4; 2155. 3; 2164. 2-3; P. Coll. Youtie II 92. 4-5; SB V 8029. 9; XVI 12378. 6-7. In all but one of these the adjective which defines τάξις, i.e. δουκική, ἡγεμονική, or στρατιωτική, stands just before the noun and after κατὰ Θηβαΐδα. It is the sole exception, BGU XII 2147. 3-4 ... ἀναφερομένων εἰς τὴν στρατιωτικὴν κατὰ Θηβαΐ[δα τ]άξιν, which provides the best parallel for our passage. All the similar examples in BGU XII have στρατιωτικὴν/-κῆς directly before τάξιν/-εως.

5 μακαρίας (?). This is the commonest epithet with μνήμης; if the father had an official honorific epithet, it might have been reflected here in e.g. λαμπρᾶς or περιβλέπτου; similarly, if he had been a clergyman, the epithet εὐλαβοῦς might have been used.

6 Αὐρήλιος (?). This is the usual status indication for lessees, cf. J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 13 (1974) 286, and above 4 n.

6-7 ἐποικίου Εἰρήνης |[τοῦ μεγάλου Ἑρμοπολίτου νομοῦ. Cf. SB III 6612. 11-12 (AD 365), a sale of land between an inhabitant of Oxyrhynchus and an Oxyrhynchite villager, and M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* 81, 96. The hamlet was close to the border between the districts of Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis.

8-9 Era 288/257 and indiction 15 = 611/12, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 92. The crops of summer 612 are, as usual at Oxyrhynchus, attributed to the indiction beginning after the harvest, *ibid.* p. 26, in this case indiction 1 = 612/13.

10-14 Cf. especially P. Berl. Zilliacus 7. 12-16.

11 P. Berl. Zilliacus 7. 12-13 has μηχανὴν καλουμένην Ἀκεεῖς, ἐκ βορρᾶ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης. Some similar description of the location may have stood in this place after the name of the machine.

14 At this point P. Berl. Zilliacus 7. 16-19 has a much longer formulation: καὶ παντὸς ἐτέρου δικαίου ταύτης καὶ τῶν συγγεωργουμένων καὶ ὑποστελλουσῶν <τῇ> αὐτῇ μηχανῇ ἀρουρῶν δώδεκα ἢ ὅσαι πλείους ἐὰν ᾧσιν, εἰς σποράν, ὡς ἐὰν αἰρῶμαι γενημάτων, καὶ τελέσω κτλ. Here perhaps restore something like δικαίου ταύτης καὶ τῶν συγγεωργουμένων ἀρουρῶν, plus a number. This is already a little long. Possibly (δεκα?)τεσσ[άρων] or (εἰκοσι?)τεσσ[άρων] might suit, but this is far from a clear reading.

14-15 Cf. P. Berl. Zilliacus 7. 19-20. In XVI **1968** 5 6 instead of ἐπὶ γένει λου[...][read and restore ἐπὶ τε Νειλοβρόχου] ⁶[καὶ ἀβρόχου].

16-19 These badly damaged lines should contain chiefly the details of the rent in wheat and money. In 16 εἴτην looks suitable and at the end δεκαπέ[¹⁹ντε should have something to do with money, but problems intervene, see next note.

17 *ἐξαγίου* seems an unavoidable reading. This is a term connected with tax rather than with rent, but that may not be inappropriate in view of the recent research which suggests that the payments made by tenants of large estates contained an element destined to cover state taxes, which the landowner was expected to forward to the government, see J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (Collège de France; 1985) 1–90. The rare word is a transliteration of Latin *exagium*, ‘weighing’, cf. P. Lond. IV 1412. 117 (with Add. p. VI); Stud. Pal. VIII 1084. 2; CPR V 26. 863; P. Vindob. G. 39743. 2 (K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 58 (1985) 83–5, Taf. Va). See also CPR VIII pp. 205–6, where the meanings of *ἐξάγιον* and *θέμα* are discussed. Annual tax payments were divided into three, in the Arab period perhaps two, *καταβολαί*, usually translated ‘instalments’; an *ἐξάγιον* was a division of one of these, a ‘part payment’ towards a particular instalment. The fifth *θέμα* in CPR VIII 73. 3 may possibly be an equivalent of *ἐξάγιον*. A fifth *ἐξάγιον* occurs in P. Vindob. G. 39743. 2 and this is the highest number known, unless we ought here to read and articulate the letters as *ἐκτου ἐξαγίου*. The next phrase could perhaps be in the genitive, *τῇ[ς ὕ]μετέ[ρας λα]μπρό[τητος]*, cf. next note.

18 The traces could suit *ἐκτου* (or *ἐκ τοῦ*) *αὐτῆς ἐξαγίου*, cf. previous note, since *-ίου* in line 17 is written with omicron close to iota and upsilon represented as a horizontal line above omicron. After *ἐξαγίου* perhaps *γομς* = *νομ(ίματα)* is acceptable, laying down a money rent (or tax payment) of fifteen *solidi*.

20 Restore perhaps *καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦ φόρου*, cf. P. Berl. Zilliacus 7. 24–5.

21 For the restoration, which is tentative, cf. XVI 1968 6.

26 *κατὰ τὴν ἀνωτέραν διήγησιν*. See P. Heid. IV 330. 8–9 and n., citing P. München I 7. 47, P. Lond. III 1007b. 15 (p. 264). Similarly restore *δι]ήγησιν* in XVI 1892 42 in place of *ὁμολ[όγησιν]*; a photograph shows that the trace before gamma is not at all distinctive, and in XXIV 2420 21 a photograph shows that we should read *διήγη[σιν]* in place of *ὁμολ[όγησιν]* *καὶ* [. For the similar *ἀνωτέραν διαστολήν*, which cannot be read here, cf. P. Mich. XIII 662. 41; 663. [12]; 665. 65, P. Herm. Rees 32. 2.

27 Perhaps *ὡς πρόκ(εῖται)* or something similar stood before the name of the amanuensis.

28 For the sort of subscription recorded here see J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten*, cf. 3933 40, 3936 35, 3942 36, 3952 58–9, 3958 40. Sometimes the signs after these notarial signatures contain elements that are recognizable, such as dates by indiction or era years, e.g. 3952 59, 3958 40; at other times they are completely incomprehensible and are noted as ‘signs’ or ‘shorthand’, which last is what we might expect from *notarii* in the original sense. Here there is fairly serious damage, but there seems to be no recognizable date. I have not succeeded in matching the remains of this signature with any of those illustrated in Diethart, Worp, op. cit. Taff. 40–52, but this may be due to its fragmentary condition.

3956. FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT

53 1B.26(F)/C(4)b

9.5 × 8 cm

1 October 611

Since this fragment is addressed to Flavius Apion III and gives him the title of *patricius*, see 3939 4–5 n., the date Phaophi 3 of the 15th indiction can only be 1 October 611 and the emperor whose name is lost must be Heraclius. It is a pity that the number of the regnal year is lost. I have restored it as *δευτέρου* rather than *πρώτου* to agree with 3955 2–3, see the note there for arguments suggesting that this is likely to be correct according to Oxyrhynchite practice, cf. below 5 n.

The back is blank so far as it is preserved, but it is likely that there was an endorsement of the usual kind written downwards along the fibres, now lost along with the beginnings of the lines. There is a sheet join running vertically downwards about 3 cm from the right hand edge, showing that the contract is written on what was the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut.

+ ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου]υ καὶ δεσπότου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ
 θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.] βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ
 εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δ]εσπότου μεγίστου εὐερ[γ]έτου
 Φλ(αουῖου) Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰω]νίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐ[τ]οκρά(τορος)
 5 ἔτους δευτέρου (?), Φα]ῶφι γ⁻, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιε. (vac.)
 Φλ(αουῖω) Ἀπίωνι τῷ παν]ευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυεστάτῳ
 ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ πατ]ρική[ω γ]εουχοῦντι καὶ ἐ[ντα]ῦθα
 τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρρυχιτ]ῶν π[όλει] διὰ Μηνᾶ [οἰκ]έτου
 ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ] πρ[οσπορίζον]τος τ[ῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπότ]ῃ

1 ἰησου

4 αυ[τ]οκρ/α

5 γῖνδ/

‘In the name of the lord and master Jesus Christ our god and saviour. In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Heraclius, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, second (?) year, Phaophi 3, indiction 15.’

‘To Flavius Apion, the most renowned and most extraordinary consular and patrician, landholder here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, slave, putting the formal question and supplying for his own master ...’

1-2 Cf. 3955 1 n.

2-4 Cf. 3955 2-3 n.

5 ἔτους δευτέρου (?), Φα]ῶφι γ⁻, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιε. Phaophi 3 of the 15th indiction was 1 October 611, cf. introd. Since Heraclius acceded on 5 October 610, according to the rule prescribed by Justinian’s Novella 47 his second year should not have begun before 5 October 611, but 3955 2-3 shows that the clerk who wrote that document assigned it to the second regnal year on 23 September 611. I have argued that this probably indicates that the Oxyrhynchite formulas assimilated the beginning of the regnal year to the beginning of the traditional Egyptian year on Thoth 1 = 29 or 30 August, see 3955 introd and 2-3 n.

6-8 On Flavius Apion III cf. 3939 4-5 n.

8-9 On Menas cf. 3935 7 n., 3941 15-18.

3957. FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT

53 1B.26(D)/B(4)b

15 × 7.5 cm

21 February 612

+ 54 1B.26(E)/C(11)a

(or 20 February 611?)

This document is headed by an invocation of the Trinity, Mary, and All Saints, formula 3C, known otherwise from the Arsinoite and Heracleopolite nomes only and, with one other exception, only from the reign of Phocas, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *CE* 56 (1981) 115, 119, cf. 121, 130. The peculiarity here may be connected with the fact that the contract was drawn up at Septhta, a village in the northern part of the Oxyrhynchite nome, near the Heracleopolite border, see 6 n. The only other exception to the rule that documents of the reign of Heraclius from Lower Egypt have an invocation of Christ is P. Lond. I 113. 6a (p. 212), which is Arsinoite and, after an invocation in a similar formula one word longer than that of 3957, gives

the date without a regnal or consular clause as Pharmuthi 7 of indiction 15 (restored from line 19), the equivalent of 2 April 612 according to the convincing interpretation of Bagnall and Worp, *CE* 56 (1981) 121, 130.

Here the oddity is only complicated by the presence of the regnal clause; the date is given as Heraclius year 1, Mecheir 26, indiction 15. Since Heraclius came to the throne in October 610, Mecheir 26 of 1 Heraclius is 20 February 611, but Mecheir 26 of indiction 15 is 21 February 612. The indiction figure is statistically more likely to be correct, see Bagnall and Worp, *BASP* 17 (1980) 21. Although the failure to advance the regnal year number so long after the beginning of the second regnal year is strange, it seems even harder to accept that the indiction figure was advanced more than six months before the correct date. Similar cases closer to the beginning of the year are noted by Bagnall and Worp, *BASP* 17 (1980) 24 (but delete from their list **XVI 1981**, corrected above p. xvii). However, it might be argued that the omission of *μεγίστου εὐεργέτου* from the titulature, cf. **3954** 3–7 n., as well as the use of a Trinity invocation, typical of Phocas, are powerful reasons to assign it to the earliest possible date. It is with some hesitation, therefore, that **3957** is assigned here to 21 February 612. We should note that **3957**'s regnal clause supports Bagnall and Worp in their rejection, *CE* 56 (1981) 121, of Bell's attribution of P. Lond. I 113. 6a to 627, in the fifteenth indiction of the next cycle (BL I 238).

A sheet join running vertically about 7.5 cm from the right edge shows that the contract was written along the fibres of what was the recto of the roll from which the piece was cut. The back is blank so far as it is preserved, but it is likely that an endorsement of the usual kind running downwards along the fibres of the back has been lost along with the beginnings of the lines.

+ χμγ

+ ἐν ὀνόμα]τι τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ὁμοουσίου τριάδος πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ
 ἁγίου πνεῦμα]τος καὶ τῆς δεσποίν(ης) ἡμῶν τῆς θεοτόκου
 καὶ πάντων] τῶν ἁγίων. βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστ(άτου)
 5 ἡμῶν δεσπότο]ν Φλ(αουῖου) Ἡρακλεῖου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ
 Αὐτοκράτορος] ἔ[το]υς πρώτου, Μεχεῖρ κς, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιε, ἐν κώμ(η) Cέφθα.
 τῷ ἐνδόξ]ῳ οἴκῳ Ἀπίωνος τοῦ πανευφήμου πατρικίου
 διὰ Φλ(αουῖου) Βίκτο]ρος τοῦ ἐνδο[ξ]οτάτου ἰλλοστρίου καὶ ἀντιγεούχ(ου)

3 δεσποινς 4 ευσεβεστς 5 φλ' 6 πρωτου = πρώτου: 1. δευτέρου?; ινδ/, κωμς
 8 1. ἰλλουστρίου; αντιγεουσς

'In the name of the holy and consubstantial trinity, father and son and holy spirit, and of our mistress the mother of god, and of all the saints. In the reign of our most godly and most pious master Flavius Heraclius, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, first year, Mecheir 26, indiction 15, in the village of Sephtha.'

'To the glorious household of Apion the most renowned patrician (through Flavius Victor?) the most glorious *illustris* and representative of the landowner ...'

1 + *χυγ*. Although this is clearly a Christian slogan or badge, the exact meaning remains uncertain, see LVI **3862** 1 n., cf. CPR XIV 32. 32 n.

2-4 On the invocation formula see introd. Note that when Bagnall and Worp said, *CE* 56 (1981) 130, that formula C 'is, within Egypt, limited to the Arsinoite nome', they had forgotten P. Erl. 73, dated 604 in Heracleopolis, which has the same version as here, namely 3C, as recorded *ib.* p. 119.

4-6 The titlature, like that of **3954**, is unusual for the Oxyrhynchite nome in omitting *μεγίστου εὐεργέτου* after *δεσπότης*. It is debatable whether this is due to the early date in the reign or to the influence of the clerical practice of neighbouring districts, see **3954** 3-7 n.

6 *Κέφθα*. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 174-5, and for its proximity to the border with the Heracleopolite nome see LV **3805** 91 and n.

7 On Flavius Apion III see **3939** 4-5 n.

8 It is almost certain that a *uir gloriosissimus* would have his status indication, Flavius, expressed in this place, cf. **3954** 8 n. About eleven letters should be missing, of which *διὰ Φλ(αουίου)* accounts for about six. Flavius Victor is well known as a landlord's representative from a group of letters in which he is the main figure, see XVI **1844** introd. I have suggested that the *diocetes* Flavius Georgius who appears in the same group may be the same man who figures here in **3954**, see introd., and have provisionally restored the name of Victor here, although the remains of the rho which stands in the text are too scanty to justify the reading on strict palaeographical grounds. The same titles *ὁ ἐνδοξότατος ἰλλούστριος καὶ ἀντιγεωῦχος* are found in **1859** 8 and **1860** 6, probably referring to the same Victor, see **1859** introd. Cf. LVI **3871** 6 and n., on *ὁ ἐνδοξότατος ἀντιγεωῦχος*. On the office see E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates* 85-6, cf. A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* ii 789-90, 1323 n. 47, with 1118 n. 44.

3958. RENT COLLECTOR'S WORK CONTRACT

52 1B.26(C)/F(1)-(4)

30.5 × 83 cm

26 April-25 May 614

On work contracts in general see **3933** introd. para. 2. This one is addressed to Flavius Apion III and dated to some day in the month of Pachon, regnal year 4 Heraclius, i.e. 26 April-25 May 614. The other party agreed to act for one year as rent collector for Apion's properties in Oxyrhynchus. He contracted to give the equivalent of 125 gold solidi 'on account of *pactum*' (*λόγω πάκ[του]*, 22, cf. 30) to cover the year's rents. Provision was made for at least some of the payments to the Apion estate to be made in the subsidiary base metal coinage (*κέρμα*, 24) at the rate of thirty-two thousand (talents) to the gold solidus. There was also a mysterious payment of oil (27-8).

The physical form of the document is interesting. The piece retains the roll's *protocollon*, attached as usual with its fibres at right angles to those of the rest of the roll on the same side. On the front of this *protocollon*, parallel with the fibres, stand three lines of thickly inked writing so stylized as to be illegible, see 1-3 n., Pl. VII. The contract is written parallel with these, beginning on the recto proper and across the fibres, so that the roll is to be read by opening it in the vertical direction rather than in the classical way, opening it in a horizontal direction, cf. **3952** introd.; contrast **3946**, which has scanty remains of the stylized protocol script on the left of a contract written in the classical format. There are six sheet joins at pretty regular intervals of about 12 or 13 cm each, with the last sheet cut off at about 9 cm. The 'height' of the

roll, cf. *ibid.*, would have been about 35 cm. In this case the ends of the lines are lost in a regular pattern of longer and shorter lines, which shows that the damage occurred while the contract was rolled up.

The notary's countersignature is unusual for Oxyrhynchus in being written only in Greek, see 40 n., Pl. VI. On the back along the fibres of the first sheet after the protocollon is an endorsement with a note of the contents of the contract.

(Protocol, see 1-3 n.)

+

- 5 + ἐν ὀνόματι [το]ῦ κυρίου κ[α]ὶ [δ]ε[σπότου] Ἰη[σο]ῦ Χρ[ι]στοῦ τοῦ
θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.
βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπότου μεγίστου
εὐερ[γέτου] Φλ(αουῖου)
Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους δ',
Παχῶν [n., ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) β.
Φλαουῖω Ἀπίωνι τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφνεστάτῳ [ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ
πατρικίῳ γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ [Ὁ]ξ[υρυγχιτῶν] πόλει
διὰ Μηνᾶ
10 οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπ[ότη] τῷ αὐτῷ
πανευφήμῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχὴν ἐγὼ Ἰωσήφ ψάλτης [τῆς
φιλοπον(ίας?)
τοῦ ἀγί(ου) Θεοδώρου καὶ ἐνοικιολόγος τοῦ ἐνδόξ(ου) ὑμῶν οἴκου υἱὸς
τοῦ τῇ[ς] εὐλαβοῦς
μνήμης Βίκτορος γενομένου διακόνου καὶ εὐαγγέλ[ου] ἐξῆς ὑπογράφων
ἰδία χειρὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμ[ο]λ[ογῶ] ἐκουσία γνώμη
15 καὶ αὐθαιρέτῳ προαιρέσει συντεθεῖσθαι με πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ὑ[περφνεσίαν]
διὰ τῶν αὐτῇ διαφερόντων ἐπὶ ἓνα ἐνιαυτὸν λογιζόμε(νον) ἀπὸ ἀ[ρχῆς]
τῶν
ἐνοικίων τῆς παρούσης δευτέρας ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἐπὶ τῷ ἐμ[ὲ] τὴν χώραν τοῦ
ἐνοικιολόγου παρ' αὐτῇ ἀποπληρῶσαι ἐν τοῖς προσ[c. 12 letters
πράγμασιν διακειμένοις κατὰ ταύτην τὴν Ὁξυρυγχιτῶ[ν] πόλιν
20 ἀπὸ τε οἰκίων καὶ ἀποστάσεων καὶ ἄλλων προσηκόντων[ν] τῷ
ἐνδόξῳ ὑμῶν οἴκῳ καὶ ἀνηκόντων τῇ ἐνοικιολογίᾳ καὶ . . . [c. 5 letters τῇ
ὑμετέρᾳ ὑπερφ(υείᾳ) διὰ τῶν αὐτῇ προσηκόντων λόγῳ
πάκ[του c. 10 letters
τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνδὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ χρυσοῦ νομίσμ(ατα) ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι π[έ]ντ[ε]
ἰδιωτικῶ
ζυγῶ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως, τὸ δὲ κέρμα τὸ χορηγούμενον παρ' ἐμ[οῦ] τοῖς

- 25 διαφέρουσιν τῷ ἐνδόξῳ ὑμῶν οἴκῳ ἀκολούθως τρι[*c*] [c. 8 letters
πρὸς ἐμὲ πιττακίοις κατὰ τριάκοντ[*a*] δ[ύο] χίλια τοῦ [νομίσμ(ατος)
ἐνὸς
ἰδιωτικῷ ζυγῷ δίδεται. τὸ ἔλαιον τὸ ἐξ ἐμοῦ διδόμενον
λ[.] . . . [.] . [.] . [.] . κατὰ τὴν
κρατήσασαν συνήθειαν λαμβάνων τοὺς ἀγγαρευτὰς πρὸς το[.] [c. 5 letters
δῶσω δὲ τοὺς λόγους μου πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν ὑπερφ(υείαν)
δι[.] [5–10 letters
- 30 τοῦ πάκτου τῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι πέντε νομισμ(άτων) ἀριθμ[ί]ων
καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν λογοθεσιῶν ἀποπληρώσω κινδύνῳ ἐμῷ καὶ τ[ῆς ἐμῆς
ὑποστάσεως, ὑποθέμενος ἐπὶ τῷ δικαίῳ τούτου τοῦ συναλλά[γματος
πάντα μου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ ὑπάρξοντα ἰδι[κῶς καὶ γενικῶς ἐνεχύρου
λόγῳ καὶ ὑποθήκης δικαίῳ. κύριον τὸ συνάλλαγμα διςδὸν γραφ(έν) [καὶ
ἐπερ(ωτηθεῖς) ὠμολ(όγησα).
(m. 2) + Ἰωσήφ σὺν θ(ε)ῷ ψάλτης καὶ ἐνοικιολόγος υἱὸς τοῦ τῆς εὐλαβ(οῦς)
μνήμης Βίκτορο[*c*] γενομέ(νου) διακ(όνου)
36 (καὶ) εὐαγγέλ(ου) ὁ προγεγραμμένος πεποίημε τοῦτω τῷ συν(άλλ)αγμα
τῆς . . . [c. 10 letters
ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐνοικίων δευτέρας ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) καὶ ἀποδώσω τοῦ
ὑπερ[10–15 letters
χρυσοῦ νομίσματα ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι πέντε ἰδιωτικ(ῶ) ζυγ(ῶ) κατὰ τὸν
προκ[είμενον τρόπον
ὡς πρόκ(εῖται). ὑπέγραψα χειρὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀπέλυσα. +
(vac.)
- (m. 3?) + δι' ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου συμβολαιογράφου ἐτελειώθη. ✕
41 (vac.) . . . τ() ἰνδ(ι)κ(τίωνος) β(ἔτους?) *c* Ϟ *c*[*ν*θ].
Back, along the fibres:
- (m. 1?) + συνάλλ(αγμα) Ἰωσήφ τοῦ] εὐλαβ(εστάτου) ψάλτου τῆς φιλοπον(ίας?)
τοῦ ἀγί(ου) Θεοδώρου καὶ ἐνοικιολόγ(ου),
υἱοῦ τοῦ τῆς εὐλαβ(οῦς) μνή[μ](ης)] Β[ί]κ[το]ρ[ος] γενο[μέ]νου)
διακ(όνου) (καὶ) εὐαγγέλ(ου) ἀπὸ τῆς Ὁξυρυγχ(ιτών) πόλ(εως).
- 6 *ευσεβς* 8 *φλαουῖω, ὑπερφνεστατω* 10 *ἰδιω* 11 *ἰωσηφ* 12 *αγι/, ενδοξ/, ὑμων,*
υῖος 14 *ἰδια* 15 *ὑμετερανῦ[περφνειαν]* 16 *ενὰ, λογιζομς^ε* 17 *ἰνδ/* 21 *ὑμων*
22 *ὑμετεραῦπερφ/* 23 *ενοῖνομισμς* 25 *ὑμων* 27 *ἰδιωτικω* 29 *ὑμετερανῦπερφ/*
30 *νομισμς* 32 *ὑποστασεωςυποθεμενος* 33 *ὑπαρχοντα, ὑπαρξονταῖδι[κως]* 34 *ὑποθηκης*
35 *ἰωσηφ, θῶ, υῖος, ευλαβς* 36 *σεναγγελ/; 1. πεποίημαι τοῦτο τὸ* 37 *απ^ο, ἰνδ/, ὑπερ[*
38 *ἰδιωτικ/ζυγς* 39 *προκ/ὑπεγραψα; 1. ἐμῇ* 40 *ἰωαννου* 41 *ἰνδκ/?* 42 *ευλαβς,*
φιλοπονς, αγι/, ενοικιολογ/? 43 *γενο]μ/εδιακ/σεναγγελ/, οξυρυγχςπολ?*

'In the name of the lord and master Jesus Christ, our god and saviour. In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Heraclius, the eternal Augustus and Emperor, year 4, Pachon 7, indiction 2.'

'To Flavius Apion the most renowned and most extraordinary consular and patrician, landowner here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, slave, putting the formal question and supplying for his own master, the same most renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), from me, Joseph, psalmist of the confraternity of St Theodore and rent collector of your glorious household, son of Victor of discreet memory late deacon and gospeller, subscribing below in my own handwriting, from the same city, greeting.'

'I acknowledge by willing resolve and voluntary choice that I have come to an agreement with your excellency through the persons attached to you for one year reckoning from the beginning of the rents of the present second indiction on condition that I fill the place of rent collector for you in the properties (belonging to you?) situated in this city of the Oxyrhynchites, from houses and stores and other (premises) belonging to your glorious household and pertaining to the collectorship (and that I pay?) to your excellency through the persons attached to you on account of the agreed (sum) ... for the same one year one hundred and twenty-five solidi of gold by the private standard of this city, and the cash in small denominations which is supplied by me to the persons attached to your glorious household reckoned in accordance with the vouchers ... in my name will be delivered at the rate of thirty-two thousand (talents) for one solidus by the private standard. The oil delivered by me I shall (account for in accordance with?) the hitherto prevailing custom, being supplied with the workers for the purpose of ... I shall present my accounts relating to your excellency ... for the agreed sum of the one hundred and twenty-five solidi of account, and the liabilities arising from the auditing procedures I shall pay in full at my own risk and at that of my property, mortgaging to the right of this contract all my possessions both now and in the future in particular and in general by way of pledge and by right of mortgage. The agreement, written in two copies, is binding and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Joseph, by God's grace psalmist and rent collector, son of Victor of discreet memory late deacon and gospeller, the aforewritten person, have concluded this contract ... from the beginning of the rents of the second indiction and I shall deliver (for the sum agreed in respect of this service?) one hundred and twenty-five solidi of gold by the private standard in the aforesaid manner, as aforesaid. I subscribed in my own handwriting and delivered (the contract).'

(3rd hand?) 'Though me, John, contract writer, the agreement was completed. ... indiction 2, (year) 290, 259.'

Back: (1st hand?) 'Contract of Joseph the most discreet psalmist of the confraternity of St Theodore and rent collector, son of Victor of discreet memory late deacon and gospeller from the city of the Oxyrhynchites.'

1-3 For this sort of protocol, written with a very broad point in a tall laterally compressed script so stylized as to be illegible for us today, and for its use in connection with notarial contracts, see most lately L. Migliardi Zingale, *Studi ... Biscardi* V 151-175. Justinian laid down a rule, valid for Constantinople only, that notarial contracts should be written on a piece of papyrus retaining the protocollon of the roll, see Nov. 44.2. Papyri from Egypt and Nessana show that provincial notaries like ours occasionally followed the same practice. Our example, which begins with the fat letter which is undoubtedly the phi of $\Phi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ or $\Phi\lambda(\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma)$, cf. Migliardi Zingale p. 168, was evidently written in only three lines, the ends of which are damaged like the rest of the document: this invalidates the suggestion that a three line formulation is an indication of a date near the end of the seventh century at the earliest, *ibid.* 166-7.

Only two early protocols with texts clearly enough written to be comprehensible were known to Migliardi Zingale, *ibid.* 164-5. Now six more fairly legible examples from the fifth century have been published as CPR IX 39-43a.

The word protocollon properly denotes the first sheet of a papyrus roll, designed to act as a protective wrapper and attached with its fibres at right angles to those of the rest of the roll on each side, see E. G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso* (Pap. Brux. 16) 20-22 (§§ 3. 5. 1-2). The earliest evidence for it may be the papyrus containing the famous curse of Artemisia of the fourth century BC, see G. Bastianini, *Tyche* 2 (1987) 1-3.

5 Formula 1 is normal, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *CE* 56 (1981) 121; contrast 3954 2-3 and n.

6-7 Cf. Bagnall, Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 68.

7 Pachon = 26 April–25 May. ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) β, cf. 17, 37, = 613/4.

8–11 On Flavius Apion III see **3939** 4–5 n., on Menas see **3935** 7 n., and for the standard wording cf. **3941** 14–18.

11 ψάλτης [τῆς φιλοπον(ίας)?]. Cf. 42. A ψάλτης was a man in minor orders who sang psalms in church, see G. W. H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v., and in the papyri P. Ant. II 109. 16, P. Batav. I 24. 1, P. Haun. III 62. 16, P. Iand. VIII 154. 12, P. Lond. III 1071b (p. LV). 18 (see next para.), P. Ross.–Georg. V 63. 3, P. Strasb. VII 638. 3, Stud. Pal. III 411. 1, 801. 1; add ἱεροψάλτης in P. Amst. I 57. 2 and P. Princ. II 62. 5. On the ψάλται of a rather later period see N. K. Moran, *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting*.

LSJ records φιλοπονία as an abstract noun and it appears, again probably as an abstract, in a fragmentary inscription of 57–6 BC, SB V 7746. 29. However, we know φιλόπονοι as members of confraternities who performed minor duties in churches, see E. Wipszycka, 'Les confréries dans la vie religieuse de l'Égypte chrétienne', *Proceedings of the XIIth International Congress of Papyrology* 511–525, P. J. Sijpesteijn, 'New Light on the ΦΙΛΟΠΟΝΟΙ', *Aegyptus* 69 (1989) 95–99. The feminine article in line 42 recommends expansion of the phrase as τῆς φιλοπον(ίας?) and this feminine is no doubt the word which denotes the corporate body of the φιλόπονοι. Elsewhere a neuter form *φιλοπόνιον (or -πονείον?) has this meaning, see Sijpesteijn, loc. cit. 95 and n. 2, Wipszycka, loc. cit. 522. The list of φιλόπονοι in P. Lond. III 1071b contains a ψ[ά]λ[του] (line 18), according to Sijpesteijn's probable restoration, loc. cit. 98.

12 τοῦ ἀγί(ου) Θεοδώρου. A church of one St Theodore or another at Oxyrhynchus was tentatively recognized in XI **1357** 65 (Θε[όδωρον], cf. 63–6 n. P. Princ. II 87. 15 is addressed to a man who in AD 612 was 'doorkeeper of St Theodore', which is again likely to refer to a church with this dedication at Oxyrhynchus.

ἐνοικιολόγος. Cf. LVI **3870** 7 n. for the papyrus references (add P. Princ. III 140 recto ii 63, as revised and renumbered by K. A. Worp, *BASP* 24 (1987) 115, 123) and a survey of the duties of rent collectors, the most unexpected feature of which is that they act as cashiers or treasurers, disbursing money for other purposes as well as receiving rents and paying them over to the estate. For example, in XVI **1904** one is intermediary for a payment to armed guards (κύμαχοι) in respect of a journey they made to Alexandria. In LVI **3870** the writer, imprisoned in Heracleopolis with some colleagues, asks his correspondent to arrange for a rent collector to send them an advance on their monthly wages; note, however, that in this case it could be that the prisoners were subordinates of the rent collector and on that account entitled to receive their wages from him.

12–13 τῇ[ς εὐλαβοῦς] μνήμης. Cf. 35. When he was alive this person would have used the honorific epithet εὐλαβέστατος, typical of church officials, see O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate* 13–14, L. Dinneen, *Titles of Address* 23–5, but in these phrases with μνήμη in the Byzantine period the superlative is transformed into the positive, cf. e.g. P. Mich. XIII 659. 3 (εὐλαβέστατον), contrasted with τῆς εὐλαβοῦς μνήμης in 11, 44, 61, 88, 93, and more than a dozen other references to the same man throughout the document. In 42 the correct expansion is therefore ἐλαβ(εστάτου), because it refers to a living person.

13 εὐαγγέλιου. Cf. 36 εὐαγγέλιου. See G. W. H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. εὐάγγελος 2, '(a human being) who reads the gospel at Church services, εὐ. ἀνὴρ βίβλον ἀετράζων διανίσσεται Paul. Sil., *ambo*. 247 (M.86.2261A)'. Although εὐάγγελος in this sense has not been recognized in the papyri, it looks as if P. Strasb. VII 638. 3–4, published as]λτης καὶ Εὐάγγελος κα[¹⁴ καθολι]κῆς ἐκκλησίας δι[, should be viewed as ψά]λτης (so already ed. pr. 3 n.) καὶ εὐάγγελος κα[. It is not likely that κα[is the beginning of καθολικῆς.

16–17 ἀπὸ ἀ[ρχῆς τῶν] ἐνοικίων. Cf. 37.

17 τὴν χώραν. Cf. e.g. I **136** 15, **140** 12, **3933** 13.

18–19 Restore possibly προσ[ήκουσιν αὐτῇ] (= τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ὑπερφυείᾳ)], cf. 20–21 προσηκόντω[ν τῷ] ἐνδόξῳ ὑμῶν οἴκῳ.

21 καὶ . . . [c. 5 letters τῇ. We need a word meaning 'to pay', see 22 n.; the traces are minimal.

22 πάκ[του]. Cf. 30. Restore possibly τῶν ἐνοικίων? The exact meaning of πάκτον is not clear. In I **138** of AD 610–11 it refers to a sum paid by the Apion estate to the contractor for the *cursus velox* and for the estate stable of riding animals (πακτάριος τοῦ ὀξέως δρόμου τοῦ ἐνδόξου ὑμῶν οἴκου καὶ τοῦ βαδιστικοῦ στάβλου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐ. ὑ. οἴκου, 9–10). The contractor receives λόγῳ πάκτου one Roman pound of gold (= 72 solidi): καὶ δέξασθαι με παρ' αὐτῆς λόγῳ πάκτου τῆς αὐτῆς χρείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ χρυσίου λίτραν μίαν (26–7). Yet here, in spite of the difficulty in the reading of line 21, the sum of 125 solidi paid λόγῳ πάκτου is clearly to be delivered to the estate by the contractor, see 37–8 καὶ ἀποδώσω . . . νομίσματα ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι πέντε and the

dative τῇ] ὑμετέρῃ ὑπερφ(υείῃ) in 21–2. In LV 3805 35 the entry for 15 solidi ὑ(πὲρ) πάκτου τοῦ ὄρμου was interpreted as a payment to the Apion estate and this remains plausible, but the form of the account leaves a degree of doubt, cf. 3805 7–8 n. (p. 167 para. 4).

23–4 ἰδιωτικῶ] ζυγῶ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως. Cf. 27, 38, and, the only parallel I know, SB XIV 11601. 8 ἰδιω]τικῶ ζυγῶ τῆς Ὁξύρυγχ[ι]τῶν πόλεως, from *Aegyptus* 56 (1976) 27 and Tav. III. Usually we have simply ζυγῶ τῆς πόλεως or δημοσίῳ ζυγῶ τῆς π. The private standard of a city is a little like a contradiction in terms, but it looks as if we should accept the terminology. On the relationships between the standards cf. 3805 7–8 n.

25–6 ἀκολουθῶς τοῖ[c] [c. 8 letters] πρὸς ἐμὲ πιττάκιοις. The πιττάκια, ‘vouchers’, were perhaps countersigned copies of receipts issued by the collector to the payers of rent. In I 136, the work contract of an Apion estate steward, he promised to transfer money to the estate ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐνταγίοις τοῖς ἐκδιδόμενοις παρ’ ἐμοῦ πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπευθύνουσι γεωργοῖς (22–3). For the equivalence of ἐντάγιον and πιττάκιον cf. e.g. I 142 1 ἐντάγ[ιο]ν ἐμοῦ Ἀσκληᾶ[c]—a sort of heading, 11–12 (the subscription) στοιχί μοι τούτου τῷ πιττάκ(ιον)—1. στοιχεῖ μοι τοῦτο τὸ πιττάκ(ιον), 13 (the endorsement) πιττάκ(ιον) Ἀσκληᾶ κτλ. The missing element here is probably a participle, but the traces are minimal and the exact meaning is uncertain.

26 The only parallel for this manner of expressing the value of the solidus is XVI 1904, a voucher of AD 618 for a payment made through a rent collector to armed guards for a journey which they made to Alexandria. The payment was ‘16 thousand’ in coin reckoned as the equivalent of seven and a half carats of gold by the Alexandrian standard: ἐν κέρμα(τι)—κέρμα(σι) ed. pr., but see L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, *Currency* 129 s.v. κέρμα—χίλ(ια) δεκαέξ, ἐν κέρμα(τι) χίλ(ια) 15 μό(να), εἰς χρυσοῦ Ἀλεξ(ανδρείας) κερ(άτια) ἐπτά ἡμις, γί(νεται) κερ(άτια) ζΛ μό(να). The missing monetary term, as here, is probably talents, see 1904 3 n., West, Johnson, *Currency* 161, cf. 134. If seven and a half carats were 16,000 units, sol. 1 (= car. 24) would seem to have been 51,200, but West and Johnson guessed that the payment was for a notional car. 8—a *triens*, they call it, a gold coin one third of the weight of a solidus—with a deduction of half a carat, so that a solidus would have worked out conveniently at 48,000 units. Whatever the details and whatever the unit it is clear that the rate in 1904 of AD 618 is much higher than the ‘32 thousand’ here in 3958 of AD 614. This tends to confirm the observation of P. J. Sijpesteijn (acknowledging K. A. Worp and K. Maresch), *ZPE* 62 (1986) 153 and n. 2, that ‘a steep rise of the price of solidi occurs in the twenties of the VIIth century AD’, with the reservation that the rise is really evidenced for the second decade of the century and began before the Persian invasion of AD 619, to which Worp is reported as attributing it.

If the unnamed unit is the talent, as seems likely to me too, we can also compare the rates in Apion estate accounts of the sixth century, in which for a period of about twenty years, from AD 557 to AD 577, the solidus appears to have been tarified at den. myr. 4,800 ($\times 10,000$) = 48,000,000 denarii ($\div 1500$) = tal. 32,000, cf. LV 3804 272 n. It seems, therefore, that the period of the stability of the subsidiary coinage lasted as late as AD 614, but that by AD 618 it had ended, and a rapid rise had brought inflation of fifty per cent. The Persian menace may have sparked it off.

In XVI 1917 59 den. myr. 1,200 are converted to sol. $\frac{1}{6}$, i.e. sol. 1 = den. myr. 72,000 ($\times 10,000$ = den. 72,000,000 $\div 1,500$) = tal. 48,000, the same rate as is plausibly calculated for 1904. This means that 1917 should be later than 3958, April/May AD 614, so that its fifth indiction is likely, if the preceding arguments are correct, to refer to 616/17 and the ὑπερφνεστάτου ὑπάτου is likely to be either Flavius Apion III or possibly the pseudo-Strategius III, which the Heracleopolite elements of the account might favour. This conflicts with the view of the first editors, 1917 introd., where they take the consul to be probably Flavius Apion II (*consul ordinarius* AD 539) and say, ‘The character of the hand suggests a date fairly early in the sixth century’. This criterion can be disregarded if the analysis of the course of the exchange rates is correct, but the evidence remains thin, and we do not know if exchange rates outside the influence of the Apion estates would have followed the same course.

Other evidence which has been brought into connection with the inflation of this period is more doubtful and deserves brief discussion. Sijpesteijn’s article referred to above is a reconsideration of a text he published earlier, P. Mich. inv. 3709, in *ZPE* 61 (1958) 82–4 and Taf. III c. It seems to give the value of one solidus as den. myr. 11,250 (= tal. 75,000) and the value of three solidi consistently as den. myr. 33,750 (= tal. 225,000). This very high value seems to put the document into the seventh century, later than AD 618, but the writing shown by Taf. III c suggested the fifth century to Sijpesteijn, although in his return to the subject in *ZPE* 62 cited above he very reluctantly accepted that the monetary argument ought to overrule the palaeographic one. I share his reluctance to assign the document to the seventh century. A date range which centres around AD 400 is what I should expect, with the earlier part of that range by no

means excluded, but I am not sure whether the interpretation of the writing is wrong or whether this document is evidence of an earlier stage of very high inflation of which we know no more at present.

The remarks of Worp and Maresch reported in *ZPE* 62 (1986) 153, n. 2 deserve support: XVI 1921 dates from AD 621, because of the mention of the Persians and the number of the indiction, cf. 3959 introd. para. 2; Stud. Pal. XX 218 dates from the seventh century, because of the invocation and the absence of a regnal or consular date clause; neither of them specifies any relationship between gold and the subsidiary coinage that we can understand until the nature of the *follis* is established.

27 δίδεται = δίδοται, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 383 (§ 1 end), referring to VII 1053 13, W. Chr. 284. 17.

At the end of the line we might expect *λημματίσω*, cf. I 136 27, 28. The oblique descending to the left seems characteristic of lambda and we seem to need a first person verb meaning something like 'pay' or 'deliver' to which *λαμβάνων* can attach. However, the surviving remains of letters are not consistent with that or with *λογίζομαι*. The reference to the hitherto prevailing custom in 28 makes it more likely that the oil is payment in kind which the rent collector agrees to give to the estate as a premium than that he has the task of supplying oil to the estate's customers, but it is not entirely clear to me what is going on.

28 ἀγγαρευτάς. See P. Hamb. III 216 introd. pp. 97–8 and the lists pp. 100–103. The earliest papyrus reference is from AD 586 and only three of the twenty-five attestations listed are earlier than the Arab period, counting P. Iand. I 24, which, if from Oxyrhynchus, is very unlikely to be so late. These workers received pay and allowances in kind. In the Arab period the varied jobs that are attested for them were connected with public services. In PSI III 200 from Oxyrhynchus (revised version in P. Hamb. III p. 99) the work is done *εἰς τὸν κῆπον Εὐτρη[[τ]]γείου* (l. *Εὐτρυγίου*) and this may be related to the *πωμάρ(ιον) ἐγγὺς Εὐτρυγίου* of LI 3640 3 and to the *λαχανία Εὐτρυγίου* of XVI 1913 17, both associated with the Apion villa at Oxyrhynchus, see 3640 2–3 and nn. The word itself, derived from *ἀγγαρεύειν*, makes it clear that the work was compulsory, but it is not clear by what right the Apion estate was entitled to demand it.

πρὸς τοῦ[το], 'for this purpose', i.e. to do the physical work of supplying and transporting the oil, may suit; *πρὸς τοῦ[ε ...]* might be right, but I cannot think of a suitable short word to follow.

29 δι[.]. Perhaps this specified regular accounting, e.g. *δι' ἑξαμήνου*, 'every six months', or *διὰ τετραμήνου* etc. The trace is not distinctive. It is not clear whether a preposition such as *ὑπέρ* is needed before *τοῦ πάκτου* or whether the genitive is enough.

30 ἀριθμ[ίων]. Cf. L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, *Currency* 120–1. This would refer to the basic number of *solidi* on which any charges are calculated. However, the word order elsewhere is invariably *ἀρίθμια νομίσματα*. The only alternative I have thought of is *ἀριθμῶ πλήρη*, 'in number complete' = 'paid in full', cf. P. Harr. I 83, 7, X 1270 36, but these, of the mid second century and the early third respectively, are too distant in date to be satisfactory parallels for this text.

36 At the end of this line we might expect *τὸ συνάλλαγμα τῆς ἐνοικιολογίας*, cf. 3952, the contract of a *προνοητής*, where in the corresponding passage of the subscription we have *τ. ε. τῆς προνοησίας* (51), but this is clearly impossible as a reading. Possible might be *τῆς χρεΐας*, cf. 3933 21, but that is not the corresponding passage.

37 τοῦ ὑπερ[10–15 letters. We rather expect *τὰ ὑπέρ [τοῦ πάκτου] χρυσοῦ νομίσματα κτλ.* A mistake of *τοῦ* for *τά* is not impossible, but this restoration is also slightly too short to be entirely satisfactory. Perhaps *τοῦ ὑπέρ [ταύτης (sc. τῆς χρεΐας) πάκτου]* would be a better guess, '(for) the sum agreed in respect of this (service)'.

38 κατὰ τὸν προκ[είμενον τρόπον, Cf. I 140 30.

39 ἀπέλυσα. Cf. 3952 53 n.

40 Cf. 3933 40 n., 3936 35, 3942 36, 3952 58–9, 3955 28. Notarial subscriptions entirely in Greek are not otherwise attested for the Oxyrhynchite nome after the fourth century, see J. M. Diethart, K. A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten* 19.

41 See Pl. VI. The signs at the very beginning look hesitant; they could be shorthand. The tau has an arc above it. We might expect here a repetition of the month and day number from line 7, but nothing of the sort is recognizable. The indiction number, cf. 17, 37, and the Oxyrhynchite era numbers correspond with regnal year 4 as given in line 7 above, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 92.

(ἔτους?). The sign looks like a xi or a zeta with a long vertical tail and this interpretation of it is doubtful. It could be argued that its placing suggests that it is just a decorative sign after the indiction number, since it is closer to that than to the era numbers, but see 3960 3 n.

42 ἐλάβε(εστάτου). Cf. 12–13 n.

3959. DEED OF SURETY

48 5B.31/E(1-2)a

10 × 19 cm

12 January 620

This contract enables us to date the death of Apion III to the second half of 619, during which the last Persian occupation of Egypt began, or at the latest before 12 January 620. It is addressed 'to the glorious household once belonging to Apion the late former patrician', in which formula *μακαρίτου*, 'late', tells us without ambiguity that he was dead. The writer of P. Iand. III 49, dated 5 July 619 by the combination of regnal year 9 of Heraclius, indiction 7, Epeiph 11, still believed him to be alive. **3959** has no regnal or consular date, showing that it was written when Egypt was not under imperial rule from Byzantium. It begins with an invocation of Christ in the standard formula and by way of date gives only the day of the month, Tybi 16, and indiction 8. That this eighth indiction is AD 619/20 is suggested by **3960**, an account for AD 620/21 specified by era numbers as well as by indiction 9, addressed in a comparable way 'to the glorious household lately belonging to Apion in well famed memory'. The suggestion can be corroborated by the argument that in the eighth indiction of the next cycle, AD 634/5, Egypt was securely back under the rule of Heraclius, so that a contract of that year would have had a regnal clause in his name, and that the following eighth indiction, AD 649/50, is incredibly remote from the other mentions of Apion III, see **3939** 4-5 n., and later than any known Greek document from Oxyrhynchus.

On the basis of Stud. Pal. III 86, a document dated only by indiction and mentioning the Heracleopolite household of Apion III, but assigned to 623 by L. C. West, A. C. Johnson, *Currency* 121, because of a monetary term of allegedly Persian derivation, J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 75, suggested that Apion collaborated with the Persians and was punished by confiscation after the recovery of Egypt by Heraclius in 629. On the contrary, it seems now that Apion III died at a date so close to the Persian invasion as to suggest the speculation that he died in the fighting or was eliminated by them. The survival of his household as an economic unit is interesting, but it is not surprising if the Persians for their own advantage wanted Egypt's economy to function as smoothly as possible under the existing arrangements. It should be repeated that there is no reason to doubt that XVI **1921**, which mentions a 'glorious household', the Persians, and an indiction 9, dates from 621, against J. M. Carrié, in *Dévaluations à Rome* ii (Collection de l'école française de Rome No. 37) 260 n. 4, see above **3958** 26 n. end. The 'glorious household' of **1921** could in theory be that either of Apion III or of the prominent landowner now known as pseudo-Strategius III, see **3935** 6 n., 7 n., but since Apion III appears much more often in papyri from Oxyrhynchus, his estate is likely to be meant.

A similar fate could be surmised for pseudo-Strategius III. The latest well dated documents referring to him in a form which shows that he was considered to be alive are of 615, namely BGU II 368 (25 June 615) and SB I 5271 (10 December 615), see

the lists in Gascou, op. cit., 70 n. 392, and K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 56 (1984) 115. Documents which mention him and have been tentatively assigned to the Persian period are uncertainly dated by the indiction only, viz. Stud. Pal. VIII 1072 (ind. 11 = 622/3?) and 1228 (ind. 12 = 623/4?), cf. Worp *ibid.* It is unfortunate that Stud. Pal. X 1, which shows that his household too functioned after his death, is undated.

By way of apology for the speculations about the fates of these great landowners it is appropriate to recall the facts: what we know is only that Flavius Apion III was considered alive on 5 July 619 and was dead by 12 January 620, while his household continued to function as an administrative unit at least for the year 620/21, and that pseudo-Strategius III was considered to be alive on 10 December 615 and that his household functioned as a unit at an unknown date after his death.

For this well known type of document see the list by G. Bastianini in R. Pintaudi, *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Pap. Flor. VII) 25–7, and the literature cited by I. Fikhman, *ibid.* pp. 68–70, with P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 146; 65 (1986) 164.

The contract is written along the fibres; there is no sheet-join.

- Ϡ ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κ(υρίο)υ καὶ δεσπ(ότου) Ἰησοῦ
 Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρ(ος) ἡμῶν.
 (vac.) Τῦβι ις⁻, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) η⁻. (vac.)
 τῷ ἐνδόξῳ οἴκῳ ποτὲ Ἀπίωνι
 5 τοῦ μακαρίτου γενομέ(νου) πατρικίου
 διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερ(ωτώντος) καὶ προσπορ(ίζοντος)
 τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπ(ότη) τῷ αὐτῷ πανευφ(ήμῳ)
 ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχίην.
 Αὐρήλιος Ἀνοῦπ υἱὸς Μηνᾶ
 10 Καμοῦλ ἀπὸ κώμης Σερύφεως
 τοῦ Ὁξ(υρρυ)χ(ίτου) νομοῦ ὁμολογῶ ἐκουσίᾳ
 γνώμῃ καὶ αὐθαιρέτῳ προαιρέσει
 ἐπωμνύμ(ενος) τ[ὸν θ]εῖον καὶ σεβάσμι'ον'
 ὄρκον ἐγγνᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναδέχεσθαι
 15 παρ' ὑμῖν Αὐρήλιον Παμούθιον
 υἱὸν Μηνᾶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης
 ἐφ' ᾧ τε αὐτὸν ἀδιαλείπτως
 παραμεῖναι καὶ διάγειν ἐν τῇ
 αὐ]τῇ κώμῃ καὶ ἐπιζητ[ού]με(νον)

1 $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$, δεσπ^ςἸησου 2 σωτηρ/ 3 ις⁻ ἰνδ^ο/ῆ 4 l. Ἀπίωνος 5 γενομ^ς 6 ἐπερ/,
 προσπορ/ 7 ἰδιωδεσ^ς, πανευφ/ 11 οξ^χ 13 ἐπωμνυμ^ς: l. ἐπομνύμενος 19 ἐπιζητ[ου]μ^ς

20 αὐτὸν πα]ραφέρω κα[ὶ πα-
ραδώσω δι[ὰ λόγον ἔ[ν]θ[α]

Back, downwards along the fibres: + ἐγγύη Ἀνοῦπ [ν]! [ο]ῦ [

'In the name of the lord and master Jesus Christ our god and saviour. Tybi 16, indiction 8.'

'To the glorious household once belonging to Apion the late former patrician, through Menas, slave, putting the formal question and providing for his own master, the same most renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility (for the transaction). I, Aurelius Anup son of Menas (also called?) Camul from the village of Seryphis of the Oxyrhynchite nome, acknowledge by willing resolve and voluntary choice, swearing the divine and august oath, that I guarantee and receive at your hands Aurelius Pamuthius son of Menas from the same village upon condition that he shall remain continuously and abide in the same village and if he is sought I shall bring him forward and hand him over without cavil in the place where (I received him) ...'

Back. 'Guarantee for Anup son of ...'

1-2 Cf. **3955** 1 n.

6-8 Cf. **3935** 7 n. for Menas. This becomes the latest reference, in place of P. Iand. III 49 of 5 July 619.

9-10 The succession of three names is of doubtful meaning. Camul could be the grandfather's name or an alias of either the father or the son, cf. e.g. LV **3804** 72 n.

3960. WINE ACCOUNT

54 1B.25(A)/E(5)-(8)

119 × 20 cm

621

The main interest of this account is that it shows the Apion household continuing to function as an economic unit in the Persian period and after the death of the last head of it that we know of, cf. **3959** introd.

The account relates to the ninth indiction defined by the Oxyrhynchite era numbers 297 and 266, which is the equivalent of the Egyptian year 29 August 620 to 28 August 621. It would have been compiled by the wine steward after the latter date, but probably not long after; it seems reasonable to guess that this fair copy would have been filed in the central estate office before the end of the Julian year 621.

This wine steward (οἶνοχειρικτῆς) seems to have been in charge of an area of the Apion estate rather in the way that the general stewards (προνοηταί) were in charge of a group of Apion holdings which were near enough to one another to be managed jointly, cf. LV **3804** introd. p. 96. Before it breaks off col. iv gives the names of six holdings which still owed quantities of wine to the landowner. This was possibly for rent in kind. Col. i had what I take to be a longer version of the same list, from which survive fragmentary entries for receipts from eight holdings. The first entry, line 4, relates to the same place as the first of col. iv, line 31; line 9 seems to have had the same place as 32 below. Neither of these lists is likely to have lost more than five or six more entries, see below. The first one would probably have mentioned receipts from all the holdings for which the steward was responsible and any holding which

had made no deliveries would have been listed in col. iv, which gives the schedule of arrears, so that in all probability the steward can have been responsible for up to thirteen or fourteen holdings only. The guess that these places were near enough to each other to be conveniently administered together is perhaps supported by XVI **2044**, which has entries for four of our six holdings, Adaeu, Partheniados, Orthoniu, and Leonidu with Limeniados, and by **1916**, with entries for three of them, Adaeu, Partheniados, and Cotyleeu.

If I understand the arrangement correctly, each of the four columns collects a separate category of entries: col. i records receipts from holdings in the steward's area; col. ii lists extraordinary receipts of wine exacted for a special reason (12) or bought in from holdings outside the steward's area (13–16); col. iii records expenditure; col. iv lists arrears still owing from the holdings of the steward's area.

The figures are clear in outline, although they pose some minor questions. The sum total of receipts survives in line 18 as 33,289 cnidia. The capacity of the cnidium was probably not invariable, but a possible capacity was eight *sextarii* or roughly eight pints or four and a half litres, cf. LI **3628** 15 n.; at which rate the receipts were roughly 214,000 bottles in modern terms. The surviving entries in cols. i and ii total 16,503 cnidia, which leaves 16,786 to be accounted for at the foot of col. i, where the amount of space available is not very likely to have accommodated more than five or six entries, see below. One of these entries would be expected to record a second delivery of 456 cnidia from the people of the holding of Leonidu with Limeniados, because their first delivery is specified as 6,200 out of 7,822, leaving 1,622 unpaid (4), while arrears from the same place are booked as 1,166 (31). The other entries at the foot of col. i must then have had a higher average than those at the top of the column, but this probably presents no particular problem. Col. ii was presumably blank below the sum total of receipts which survives. Surviving expenditure in col. iii totals 26,257 cnidia before it breaks off. Surviving arrears in col. iv total 2,098 cnidia in clear figures; the last, incomplete, entry is complicated by money equivalents, but can be calculated to indicate further arrears of $233\frac{1}{3}$ cnidia. It looks as if the figures would have been very close to balancing if the text had survived in full, with arrears standing at less than 10% of receipts. One entry presents internal difficulties, not of serious importance for the overall picture, see 25 n.

On wine in the Apion estates see E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* 118–122, cf. 102–5; add especially XXVII **2480** introd.

What survives is a long strip of the upper part of the account about 20 cm high. To judge from the large hand and generous layout there would probably have been 10 to 15 cm more below for the whole length, containing potentially up to five or six more lines in each column with a lower margin. There is also some papyrus missing at the left, but the beginning of col. i with its address to the household looks as if it was the beginning of the account; on the edge at the back there are remains of the feet of a few letters of an endorsement written downwards along the fibres of the verso.

The remains might be consistent with . + λ[όγος] Ἰ[ωάννου, the name of the wine steward in question being John, see line 3, although I am not sure what could have left the very long serified descender before what in this reading is taken to be the descender of the cross. At the end on the recto there is an expanse of blank papyrus about 13.5 cm wide and a straight right edge, which suggests that the account was complete with the end of col. iv. There are seven sheet joints; the first, incomplete, sheet is 10 cm wide, and the remaining joins occur at fairly regular intervals of 15, 15.5, 16, 15.5, 15.5, and 15.5 cm, with 16 cm to the right of the last visible join.

i

+ τῷ ἐνδ(όξῳ) οἴκ(ῳ) `ποτέ' Ἀπίωνος τοῦ {τῆς} ἐν εὐκλεεῖ τῇ μνήμῃ τῷ διακειμέ(νω)
καὶ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλ(ιν). λόγ(ο)ς λημμ(άτων) (καὶ) ἀναλωμά(των)
γενομέ(νων) δι' ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου οἰνοχειρ(ιστοῦ) ῥύσεως θ' ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) (ἔτους?) ϷϷ⁻ (καὶ)
ϷϷ⁻. λημμ(άτων) οὕ(τως):

5	]. τῶν ἀπὸ Λεωνίδου (καὶ) Λιμενιάδος (m. 2) ἀπὸ κνιδ(ίων) Ἰζωκβ (m. 1) οἴνου κνίδ(ια) Ἰς	
	c. 17 letters	]. (vac.) οἴνου κνίδ(ια) φμδ
	c. 15 letters	]ων (vac.) οἴνου κνίδ(ια) τν
	c. 16 letters	]. ης (vac.) οἴνου κνίδ(ια) υ
	c. 15 letters	]. (vac.) οἴνου κνίδ(ια) βςπ
10	c. 15 letters	]ν Χωρίου (vac.) οἴνου κνίδ(ια) αςλς
	c. 17 letters	]ιου (vac.) οἴνου κνίδ(ια) β
	c. 18 letters	]ιου (vac.) [οἴνου] κ[ν]ίδ(ια) α

1 ἐνδ/οικ/, διακειμ^{ες} 2 πολς, λογ^ολημμς (= καί): and so throughout) ἀναλωμ^{ας} 3 γενομ^{ες}
δι/εμου ἰωαννουοινοχειρ/, ἰνδ//: and so usually; ϷϷςϷς; λημμςο⁻ 4 κνιδ/, and so throughout; οἴνου
written with ου in monogram above ν: and so throughout

ii

καὶ τὰ ἀπαιτηθ(έντα) π(αρά) τῶν ἀπὸ Ἐπισήμου χάρ(ιν) τῶν Περσῶν οἴνου κνίδ(ια) υρῃ
τὰ ἀγορασθ(έντα) π(αρά) τῶν ἀπὸ Πηλέας ὑ(πέρ) νο(μισμάτων) κε,
τοῦ νο(μίσματος) α οἴ(νου) κνιδ(ίων) ιη, γί(νεται) οἴνου κνίδ(ια) υν
τὰ ἀγορασθ(έντα) π(αρά) τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος ὑ(πέρ) νο(μισμάτων) λς ἄλ(λων),
τοῦ νο(μίσματος) α οἴνου κνιδ(ίων) κδ, γί(νεται) οἴνου κνίδ(ια) ωξδ
15 τὰ ἀγορασθ(έντα) π(αρά) τῶν ἀπὸ Πουσεμπόυς ὑ(πέρ) νομ(ισμάτων) (vac.) τοῦ
νο(μίσματος) α κνιδ(ίων) (vac.)

γί(νεται) οἴνου κνίδ(ια) ω, ἐξ ὧν ἀντεδόθ(η) αὐτ(οῖς) ἐν ὄξω
κνίδ(ια) ριζ, λοι(πὰ) οἴνου κνίδ(ια) χπγ
(vac.)

+ γί(νεται) ὁ(μοῦ) τῆς ὑποδοχ(ῆς) τοῦ οἴνοχειρ(ιστοῦ) ῥύσε(ως) θ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)
οἴνου κνιδ(ίων) (μυριάδες) γ κ[αί] γρπθ. +

12 απαιτη^θπ/: and so throughout, χαρ/, 13 αγορα^θ: and so throughout, υ/: and so throughout,
^ον: and so usually, οι/: usually οἴνου, with ου in monogram above nu, ιη, γι/: and so throughout 14 αλ⁻?
15 νομζ (usually ^ον) 16 αντεδοα^θυ; 1. ὄξει; λοι/ 17 ὁ(μοῦ) is a large omicron cut by two parallel
obliques rising from bottom left to top right, υποδοχ, οἴνοχειρ/ρνε^εθινδ// 18 ς = (μυριάδες)

iii

+ ἐξ ὧν ἀνηλώθ(η) ἐπὶ τῇ(ς) αὐτ(ῆς) θ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)

20 εἰς τὰς ἀγί(ας) ἐκκλησί(ας) καὶ ξενοδοχ(εῖα) καὶ μαρτύρ(ια) τῆς πόλεως καὶ
ἐν ἄγροις λόγῳ προσφορᾶ(ς) ἀκολουθ(ως) βρεβίῳ ὄντι ἐν τῷ χαρτουλα(ρίῳ),
ἐπὶ τῆς θ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) cὺν ὄξω (vac.) οἴνου κνίδ(ια) ηγνυη
εἰς τὰ εὐαγῆ μοναστήρ(ια) (καὶ) ταῖς χήρ(αις) (καὶ) ἀδυναμ(οῦσι) λόγῳ εὐσεβεί(ας)
οἴνου κνίδ(ια) φος
τοῖς ταξεώτ(αις) ὑ(πέρ) cυνηθ(ειῶν) ἐξ ἔθ(ους) καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ(ς) θ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)
οἴνου κνίδ(ια) τξς
25 τῷ ἐμβολάτορ(ι) `κνίδ(ια) ρ' (καὶ) τῷ μειζοτέρῳ `κνίδ(ια) ρν' cὺν ναύλ(οις)
πακτωναρ(ίων) `κνίδ(ια) μβ' (καὶ) ἄλλ(οις) `κνίδ(ια) ςξ'
οἴνου κνίδ(ια) τκβ
τὰ ρογευθ(έντα) τοῖς Πέρσαις ἀκολουθ(ως) καταλόγῳ ὄντι ἐν τῷ χαρτουλ(αρίῳ)
οἴνου κνίδ(ια) ζςπα
τοῖς παραμοναρ(ίοις) ἐλευθέρ(οις) ὑ(πέρ) ὀψωνί(ων) θ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)
οἴνου κνίδ(ια) ηγλς
τοῖς πα[ιδαρ(ίοις) Αἰγ]υπτί(οις) ὑ(πέρ) ὀψωνί(ων) θ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)]
οἰ[ν]ορ κ[νίδ(ια)] / .τμη

19 ανηλω, τα^θυθινδ// 20 αγι/εκκλησι/, ξενοδοχ, μαρτυρρ/ 21 προσφορ^α/(?) ακολου^θ, ενχαρτουλ^α/(?)
22 1. ὄξει 23 μοναστηρρ/, χηρρ/, αδυναμμζ, ευσεβει/ 24 ταξεωτςτς, cυνηξε^θε, τθι/ 25 εμβολατορ/,
κνι^δ (possibly κν?) ter, μειζοτερ^ω/, ναυλλςπακτωναρρ/, αλλς 26 ρογευ, ακολου, χαρτουλ/
27 παραμοναρρ/ελευθερρ/, οψωνι/ 28 αιγ]υπτι/, οψωνι/

iv

(καὶ) ἔμειν(εν) ἐν ἐχθ(έσει) π(αρά?) τοῖς ἐξῆς τόποις ἐπὶ τῇ(ς) αὐτ(ῆς) θ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)

30

οὕ(τως)

π(αρά) τοῖς ἀπὸ Λεωνίδου (καὶ) Λιμενιάδος

οἴνου κνίδ(ια) /αρξς

π(αρά) τοῖς ἀπὸ Νοτίνου Χωρίου

οἴνου κνίδ(ια) μ

π(αρά) τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀδαίου

οἴνου κνίδ(ια) σκε

π(αρά) τοῖς ἀπὸ Παρθενιάδος

οἴνου κνίδ(ια) ρνγ

35

π(αρά) τοῖς ἀπὸ Ὀρθωνίου

οἴνου κνίδ(ια) φιδ

π(αρά) τοῖς ἀπὸ Κοτυλεείου ἀπὸ νο(μισμάτων) ιβ ἰδ(ιωτικῶ ζυγῶ)

εἰς οἴνου κνίδ(ια) χ ἀφ' (ὧν) ἐδόθ(η) τῷ τριβούνῳ

εἰς τὴν ῥόγαν τῶν Περσῶν ἰδ(ιωτικῶ ζυγῶ) νο(μίσματα?) ζ (τρίτον)

]. [c. 15 letters]. [

29 εμεινε^θχ/; 1. ἐκθέσει; π/(?), τα^ηα^τ30 ο⁻

36 ιδ/

37 αφ/εδο^θ

38 ιδ/νζγ'

col. i

'To the glorious household lately belonging to Apion in well famed memory, situated also at this city of the Oxyrhynchites. Account of receipts and expenses made through me, John, wine steward, for the produce of the 9th indiction, year 297 and 266. Receipts as follows:

From(?) the persons from Leonidu and Limeniados (2nd hand) from cnidia 7,822, (1st hand)

wine, cnidia 6,200

From the persons from ...

wine, cnidia 542

From the persons from ...

wine, cnidia 350

From the persons from ...

wine, cnidia 400

From the persons from Adaeu(?)

wine, cnidia 2,280

From the persons from Notinu Choriu

wine, cnidia 1,236

From the persons from Orthoniu(?)

wine, cnidia 2,000

From the persons from Cotyleeiu(?)

wine, cnidia 1,000

col. ii

'Also those which were exacted from the persons from Episemu on account of the Persians

wine, cnidia 498

Those which were bought from the persons from Peleas, in respect of sol. 25, at wine cnid. 18 per sol. 1, total

wine, cnidia 450

Those which were bought from the persons from Apollonos, in respect of another sol. 36, at wine cnid. 24 per sol. 1, total

wine, cnidia 864

Those which were bought from the persons from Pousempoys, in respect of sol. ... (vac.), at <wine> cnidia ... (vac.) per sol. 1, total wine cnidia 800, from which were returned to them in new wine cnidia 117, remainder

wine, cnidia 683.'

'Sum total of the receivership of the wine steward for the produce of the 9th indiction

wine, cnidia 33,298.'

col. iii

'From which were expended in the same 9th indiction:

To the holy churches and hostels and martyrs' shrines of the city and in the country on account of oblation according to a schedule which is in the secretarial office, for the 9th indiction, including new wine

wine, cnidia 8,458

To the well sanctified monasteries and to the widows and invalids on account of piety

wine, cnidia 576

To the staff officers in respect of customary payments, by custom also for the 9th indiction

wine, cnidia 366

To the supervisor of the grain tax (cnidia 100) and the *meizoteros* (cnidia 150) with freight charges for tenders (cnidia 42) and to others (cnidia 260!?)

wine, cnidia 322(!)

Those which were issued to the Persians according to a list which is in the secretarial office

wine, cnidia 7,281

To the free assistants for salaries of the 9th indiction

wine, cnidia 8,906

To the Egyptian 'boys' for salaries of the 9th indiction

wine, cnidia n,348 ...'

col. iv

'And there remained in arrears at the following places for the same 9th indiction, as follows:

In the hands of the persons from Leonidu and Limeniados

wine, cnidia 1,166

In the hands of the persons from Notinu Choriu

wine, cnidia 40

In the hands of the persons from Adaeu

wine, cnidia 225

In the hands of the persons from Partheniados

wine, cnidia 153

In the hands of the persons from Orthoniu

wine, cnidia 514

In the hands of the persons from Cotyleciu, from sol. 12 by the private standard converted to wine, cnidia 600, from which there were given to the tribune towards the distribution to the Persians, sol. $7\frac{1}{3}$...'

1 τοῦ (τῆς) ἐν εὐκλεεῖ τῇ μνήμῃ. Cf. I 135 4, 136 4, XVI 1989 5; the intrusive τῆς, which disconcertingly appears also in 135, 136, and 1989 (in the form τοῖς), seems to be a recollection of the alternative formula τῆς εὐκλεοῦς μνήμης, cf. P. Haun. III 64. 11, 17, 22 (all restored), I 137 5 (εὐκλείας ed. pr., but a photograph confirms the standard wording), XVI 1898 7, 1976 5, 1987 6, SB XVI 12484. 3. All these refer to Apion II, except P. Haun. III 64, where all the cases are restored improbably, cf. XVI 1887 2, XXXVI 2780 10, L 3583 3, SB XII 11079. 9–10, all οἴκου τοῦ τῆς περιβλέπτου μνήμης Τιμαγέδου, P. Warr. 3. 2–3 τοῦ τ[ῆ]ς [λ]αμπρᾶς μνήμης Τιμαγέδου.

3 Indiction 9, year 297 (and) 266 = AD 620/1, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 93, cf. above introd. para. 2.

The symbol before the era numbers, which seemingly represents (ἔτους), resembles a psi in this case, see Plate VIII. Contrast 3958 41 n. and Plate VI. In 3952 59 another zeta- or xi-shaped symbol occurs before the era numbers, but separated from them by an isolated sloping upright, see Plate VI.

4 At the beginning π(αρά) seems likely, since these are receipts, see 3. This will have been repeated in the same position in lines 5–11. It might have been preceded by some such descriptive phrases as τὰ ἀγορασθ(έντα) or τὰ ἀπαιτηθ(έντα), cf. col. ii 12–15. If so, 6–11 would have been set out to the left about 3 cm more than line 1, which is possible. However, I think it more likely that there was nothing before π(αρά), because these entries record deliveries due from the holdings in the steward's area, and that the καί at the top of col. ii (line 12) introduces a series of extraordinary receipts of wine exacted for a special reason or bought in from holdings outside the steward's area, see introd. para. 4.

Λεωνίδου. See P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 95–6.

Λιμενιάδος. See Pruneti, op. cit. 97.

8 This entry may relate to Adaeu, cf. 33.

9 Restore probably Νοτίνο]ν Χωρίον, cf. 32. See Pruneti, op. cit. 124, cf. 3953 8 n.

10 This entry may relate to Orthoniu, cf. 35.

11 This entry may relate to Cotyleciu, cf. 36.

12 Ἐπισήμου. Cf. Pruneti, op. cit. 47–8; add LV 3805 18, 85.

Περσῶν, cf. 26, 38. There is no doubt that the reference is to the Persian invaders, see 3959 introd., para. 2. These 498 cnidia exacted from the village of Episemu were probably among the 7,281 expended to Persians and noted in 26.

13 Πηλέας. Cf. Pruneti, op. cit. 150 s.v. ΠΗΛΕΩΣ. A check of the original shows that Πηλέας should also be read in XVIII 2197 191, 192, and the same reading is clear on a photograph of XVI 2055 36, now in Cairo.

14 Ἀπόλλωνος. Cf. Pruneti, op. cit. 33.

15 Πουσεμπόυς. Cf. Pruneti, op. cit. 153–4; add LV 3787 47. The spelling Που- occurs otherwise only in XVI 2034 4, 13.

20–21 On donations to religious establishments cf. 23 and n., LV 3804 145–8 n. On ξενοδοχεῖα see especially G. Husson, *Akten des XIII Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* 174–7. They do not appear in the papyri before the sixth century; add new references P. Haun. III 64. 1, 6, 10, 16, 26; L 3600 13 (1 December AD 502). The hamlet of Leonidu (4, 31) had both a ξενοδοχεῖον and a μαρτύριον, see XVI 1910 4.

21 On βρέβιον (βρέουιον) meaning 'schedule' see LI 3628 1–2 n.

ἐν τ(ῷ) χαρτουλα(ρίῳ), cf. 26. This wording seems to imply a neuter noun χαρτουλάριον, meaning 'secretariat'. I can find no definite evidence of this elsewhere, though cf. Du Cange col. 1736, but it might be very suitable in LV 3804 239, recording a purchase of papyrus rolls εἰς χρεῖαν ... τῶν λόγων καὶ ἄλλ(ων) τοῦ γεουχικ(οῦ) χαρτουλαρίου. This was translated 'for use on ... the accounts and other (papers) of the landlord's secretary', because χαρτουλάριος is well attested in the meaning 'secretary'. The difficulty pointed out in the note there (pp. 138–9) is that many *chartularii* are known in connection with the Apion estates; E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* 94–5, was able to distinguish three types. 'The landlord's secretary' in the singular is therefore surprising in the context. 'The landlord's secretariat' makes much better sense.

23 'Monasteries, widows, invalids'. On the Apion donations to churches, monasteries and deserving individuals see E. R. Hardy, *Large Estates* 139–145, cf. 20–21 n. They are paralleled by the church's own charitable activities, see E. Wipszycka, *Les ressources ... des églises* 109–120, esp. 114 on widows, citing XVI 1954–6.

24 ταξεώτ(αις). These are most likely to have been the *officiales* of the provincial governor of Arcadia, who had his headquarters at Oxyrhynchus, cf. LI 3636 2 n. See XVI 1919 3 and SB VI 9106. 7, where in each case they appear not far away from an ἄρχων, i.e. *praeses*.

25 ἐμβολάτορ(ι). This official was evidently mainly connected with the ἐμβολή, the chief tax in grain, but his functions are not at all clear, see E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates* 57, LVI 3873 8 n. (p. 171).

μειζοτέρω. Cf. LVI 3871 3 n.; add J. Gascou, *BIFAO* 76 (1976) 147 n. 2, 152 n. 5, equating it with the Latin term *maior domus*, which is usually applied to officers of barbarian royal households in the West, see A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* i 254, 260–1. This one is obviously not a mere village headman, cf. 3954 15 and n., and may be an official of the Apion household.

πακτωναρ(ίων). Cf. SB I 4323. 14 (πακτονάριν) and XLVIII 3406 3 (πακτωνάριν), where it seems to be mentioned again in the commoner form πάκτωνος (gen.), though just possibly a distinction was intended.

The figures added subsequently above the line are very clear; they give a total of 552, rather than the 322 which has been allowed to stand.

26 ῥογενθ(έντα). Cf. L. R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* 134, pointing out that the endings -εύω and -ίζω have a special usage in naturalizing Latin loan-words, and that in this case *erogare* is the Latin original. See also 37–8 n. para. 2.

27 παραμοναρ(ίους) ἐλευθέρ(οις). The only παραμονάριος elsewhere in the Greek papyri is party to a contract, SB I 4490, in which he binds himself to serve a *defensor* of Arsinoe for a year in return for an allowance of 9 artabas of wheat and one solidus less a deduction of 1 carat. He is a free man, Theodorus son of Symeonius. The date is thought to be 19.i.641 or 20.i.656, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *CE* 56 (1981) 127 n. 6. His position as a free but contracted assistant or agent seems likely to be somewhat similar to these agents of the Apion estate. On similar contracts of παραμονή see A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* ii 855, 1357 n. 74. He includes a reference to P. Strassb. I 40, an interesting four-year contract for a φαμιλιάριος ἐδραῖος κατάδουλος παῖς. The use of παραμένειν in connection with slaves and freedmen owing duties to their patrons is discussed by G. H. R. Horsley, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* iv Nos. 23–4, esp. pp. 98, 102–3. K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 50 (1983) 132, 16 n., has suggested παραμονάριον as an appropriate restoration in a fragment of a contract of AD 638. J. Banaji has kindly drawn my attention to CPR IV 160, 161 and 168(a), two virtually complete Coptic work contracts of παραμονάριοι and a fragment of a third, all using the Greek word. It is interesting that 161 specifies the length of service, one year if correctly restored, while 161 gives only a starting date.

LSJ gives the implausible translation 'watchman' for its sole reference, C. Just. I 3. 45. 3, where the word figures in a list of lay employees of the church: ξενοδόχους ἢ πτωχοτρόφους ἢ νοσοκόμους ἢ βρεφοτρόφους ἢ ὀρφανοτρόφους ἢ γεροντοκόμους ἢ παραμοναρίους ἢ οἰκονόμους ἢ ἀπλῶς τῶν εὐσεβῶν πράξεων διοικητάς. G. W. H. Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* gives the translation 'administrator, guardian' with references showing them in ecclesiastical contexts, mostly as guardians of particular churches.

28 πα[ιδαρ(ίους) Αἰγ]υπτ(ίους). Only the tops of the dotted letters survive, but the remains of πα[and πτι are so characteristic that there is hardly a doubt that the reading is correct. The restoration is based on P. Princ. II 96. 1–3:

ⲡ βρέ(ουῖον) ὀψωνίων παιδαρ(ίων) Αἰγυπτ(ίων) καὶ γυναικ(ῶν)
καὶ ἄλλ(ων) ἐπὶ τῆς ιε ἰνδ(ικτίονος), οὕτως:
βρέ(ουῖον) ὀψωνίων παιδαρ(ίων) Αἰγυπτ(ίων):

This is followed by allowances in wheat first to Philoxenus, a μειζότερος, to Phoebammon his father, to Jacob 'son of the same Phoebammon', and so on up to line 53, with grain allowances to various principals and to their fathers, brothers, sons, one mother (49, cancelled, with a note of her death), sisters, wives, and daughters. On the back is another version of the first section of the same list without a note of the amounts of the allowances.

There was probably a comparable entry in the wine account XXVII 2480 293, where in this badly damaged passage τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμμ[ένοις, . . .] Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ [.]ῦ[should conceal τ. ἐ. ἐγγεγραμμ[ένοις] παιδαρ(ίους)] Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ [γ]υ[ναιξὶ καὶ ἄλλοις . . . οὕτως. There follow five fragmentary entries for allowances of wine.

The vexed question of the place of *παιδάριον* in the terminology of slavery arises again. P. Princ. II 96 looks at first sight as if it refers to free persons, because in the traditional Greek and Roman view male slaves might have a mother whose status they inherited, but in legal terms could have no father or wife or children or other kin. Clearly *παιδάριον* there does not indicate youth: besides *μειζότεροι* and *εξ-μειζότεροι* the list mentions tradesmen, one who made cakes (*πλακουντᾶ* 38), a player of the *pandura* (39), and a cook (*μαγ<ε>ίρ(ω)*, 50). In our context the qualification of the assistants in 27 as free implies that they had counterparts who were not free, and it is most natural to find these in line 28. We are forced to agree with J. A. Straus that such words as *παῖς*, *παιδίον*, *παιδίσκη*, and *παιδάριον* can only be interpreted if the individual context gives a clue, see *Scritti in onore di O. Montevicchi* 389–390=ANRW II. 10. 1 pp. 849–50. I. F. Fikhman, 'Slaves in Byzantine Oxyrhynchus', *Akten des XIII Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* 117–124, took such references into account with appropriate reserve, see ib. p. 119, cf. id., *Jahrb. für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1973. 2 pp. 149–206 for more detailed lists. Unlike Fikhman, l.c. 203, I am inclined to take the evidence to suggest that the *παιδάρια* are slaves. This has the implication that the *παιδάρια Αἰγύπτια* of P. Princ. 96 were not free either. The status of the *παιδάρια Γοθθ(ικά)* of PSI VIII 953. 17, 32, 47, 84; 956. 26 will probably have been the same, cf. Amm. Marc. 22. 7. 8 for Galatian traders in Gothic slaves, although this refers to AD 362, with J. F. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* 326–7. Likewise see Amm. Marc. 31. 4. 9–11, about a *comes* and a *dux* on the lower Danube buying up Gothic slaves cheaply in time of famine in 378, with A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* ii 853, 1356 n. 69, and J. Gascou, *BIFAO* 76 (1976) 155–6 on Gothic *bucellarii*, which is more relevant to the date of these documents. [See now also J. Gascou, K. A. Worp, in R. Pintaudi, *Papyrologica Florentina* XIX i 223.]

31 Cf. 4 n.

The figure of 1166 is surprising, because according to line 4 this holding had delivered 6200 *cnidia* from a total due of 7822, and so at that stage still owed 1622. There may have been one or more entries recording the delivery of the missing 456 *cnidia*, probably at the foot of col. i, cf. introd.

32 Cf. 9 n.

33 Ἀδαίου. Cf. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 23–4; add LV **3805** 118.

34 Παρθενιάδος. Cf. Pruneti, op. cit. 136; add LV **3805** 102.

35 Ὀρθωνίου. Cf. Pruneti, op. cit. 126; add LVI **3865** 51.

36–8 It is not quite clear to me what the money calculations mean. It could be that the villagers were paid 12 sol. in advance for 600 *cnidia* or perhaps more probably that 600 *cnidia* due as rent were valued at 12 sol. The rate of 50 *cnidia* per sol. is clearly very cheap, see 13 and 14, where the wine steward bought in wine at 18 and 24 *cnidia* per sol. The contribution of the cultivators to the *roga* of the Persians was presumably in wine rather than in gold coin, i.e. the text would have continued *εἰς οἶνον κνίδ(ια)* and a figure. At the rate specified $7\frac{1}{3}$ solidi would represent $366\frac{2}{3}$ *cnidia*, leaving $233\frac{1}{3}$ still owing to the household, cf. introd.

36 Κοτυλαείου. Cf. Pruneti, op. cit. 90; add LV **3804** introd. p. 96, with the references in the index to that volume, p. 240.

37–8 *τριβούνω εἰς τὴν ῥόγαν τῶν Περσῶν* (cf. 12 n.). The tribune could have been a civil servant, that is a titular tribune of the *militia officialis*, cf. e.g. XVI **1876** introd. p. 71 (*palatinus, magistrianus, tribunus*), P. Mil. II 70. 8 (among *ταξεῖται*), but the function of distributing wine to the Persian invaders is probably comparable with the *annona militaris* and therefore that of a soldier. *Tribunus* was the commonest title of a regimental commander and so by itself gives very little clue to the status of the holder, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i 640. At this juncture the Byzantine army in Egypt was presumably carrying out its routine duties under Persian orders. One might say that there is a parallel between the Persians' exploitation of the standing army and their exploitation of the existing Apion household.

ῥόγαν. For references see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 7; add CPR VIII 74. 3, 7, P. Ness. III 92. 36, 38, 42 (*bis*), 43. For the postulated transmission of *roga* from vulgar Latin into various Romance languages see J. Kramer, *ZPE* 51 (1983) 121–2. It appears to be the equivalent of *erogatio* as *ῥογεῖω* is the equivalent of *erogare*, see above 26 n. Gignac and Kramer make it paroxytone in opposition to early publications, such as F. Preisigke, *WB*, which give it as oxytone. Kramer loc. cit. p. 121 n. 27 says the reason for the earlier accentuation is not obvious, but one may guess that the editors thought that the word was actually a vulgar abbreviation of *erogatio* and so retained the accent on that syllable.

3961. FRAGMENT OF CONTRACT

97/31(c)

17 × 10 cm

631/2

This scrap is only the second dated Oxyrhynchite document of the period between the Persian and Arabic occupations to be published, cf. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 68–9, who were writing before the first, and the best parallel to this, was edited by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 65 (1986) 163–7. Here only the top and beginnings of six lines survive, the first five occupied by the standard invocation of Christ and the date formulas, and the last with an address to a church, ‘to the holy catholic church of god’, which was the cathedral church of Oxyrhynchus, see 6 n.

There is no endorsement to give a clue to the nature of the contract, but the back is occupied by four lines of writing practice published below as **3962**.

There is no sheet join to prove which side is the recto. The writing of the contract, which no doubt stood here before the other side was used for the writing practice, runs across the fibres. The practice runs along the fibres of the back.

+ ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπότης Ἰη[σοῦ] Χ[ριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ
 σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.
 βασιλείας τῶν θειοτάτων καὶ εὐσεβεστάτων ἡ[μῶν] δεσποτῶν Φλαουίου
 Ἡρακλείου τοῦ
 αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους κ[n] [καὶ ὑπατείας τῆς
 αὐτοῦ εὐσεβείας (?) ἔτους nn[–] καὶ
 Φλαουίου Ἡρακλείου νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ θεοφυλάκτου αὐτοῦ υἱοῦ
 ἔτους nn[–], (month and day),
 5 (vac.) ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) πέμπτης, (ἔτους) τη[(καὶ) ςζ.
 τῇ ἀγίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ [

5 ινδ^ο/, L = (ἔτους)

‘In the name of the lord and master Jesus Christ our god and saviour. In the reign of our most godly and most pious masters, Flavius Heraclius, the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year ..., and in the consulship of his piety (?) year ..., and (in the reign) of Flavius Heraclius, new Constantine, his god-protected son year ..., (month and day), fifth indiction, year 308 (and 277).’

‘To the holy catholic church of god ...’

1 The restoration of formula 1 is virtually certain, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *CE* 56 (1981) 121. For very rare variations see **3954** 2–3 n.

2–4 Cf. P. Princ. inv. AM 11244 of AD 634/5, edited by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 65 (1986) 163–7. That document too is damaged and has lost the ends of the lines. At the end of line 3 there restore Φλ(αουίου) before Ἡρακλείου, which begins line 4, and in 4 add καί between Αὔ[γούστου] and Αὐτοκράτορος, as here.

I have not dared to restore the year numbers, since the best parallel is also damaged. The name of Heraclius II does not appear in dating clauses until after the expulsion of the Persians. The indiction

number 5 and the first surviving figure of the Oxyrhynchite era numbers, showing it to be above 300, date the document securely between 30 August 631 and 28 August 632, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 93. Since the clerk of **3955** had advanced the regnal year number to 2 by 23 September 611, before the first anniversary of the *dies imperii* of Heraclius, see introd. there, my expectation would be that at any period of the year in Oxyrhynchus all reckonings of the date would be assimilated to this traditional Egyptian year; if so, the figures would be regnal year 22 of Heraclius I, consular year 22 (or 21?), regnal year 20 of Heraclius II, cf. K. A. Worp, *BASP* 22 (1985) 361–3. This remains to a great extent a speculation, especially in view of the inconsistencies already encountered in these late dating formulas.

3 εὐσεβείας (?) is a stopgap, cf. *ZPE* 65 (1986) 165.

4 θεοφυλάκτου. Cf. *ZPE* 65 (1986) 163, line 7.

6 τῇ ἀγίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Cf. XVI **1967** 3 (AD 427), **1900** 3 (AD 528), PSI III 216. 3 (AD 534). The two sixth century items go on in the same terms: τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν ἀγιώτατον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον πατέρα ἡμῶν ἀββᾶ Πέτρον ἐπίσκοπον ταύτης τῆς λαμπρᾶς Ὁξυρυχιτῶν πόλεως; **1967**, about a hundred years earlier, although damaged, clearly has something similar but shorter, also naming a bishop Peter. As already observed in **1900** 3–7 n., the wording ὑπὸ ... Πέτρον ἐπίσκοπον, ‘under the supremacy of ... Peter bishop of ...’, can hardly refer to a former bishop, so that presumably the earlier Peter was bishop in 427, and a later one was bishop at least from 528 to 534. Here there would probably have been a reference to a bishop in office in 631/2. It seems correct to view this church as a cathedral, i.e. the principal seat of the local bishop, although the adjective καθολικὴ does not apply only to a bishop’s principal church, see E. Wipszycka, *Les ressources de l’église* 25–6, P. Col. VIII 244. 17 n.

3962. WRITING EXERCISE

97/31(c)

17 × 10 cm

c. 631/2

This exercise is written on the back of **3961**, a fragment of a contract of AD 631/2 which was without a doubt the original use of the papyrus. There is no sheet join to prove which side is the recto. The contract crosses the fibres, the exercise is written the same way up along the fibres of the back, and so we have the top and ends of four lines preserved here, while the contract has beginnings.

Lines 1 and 3 were written well apart by the first writer, who left c. 2.5 cm between them so that the second writer, who used a slightly darker ink, could copy each line underneath. At first sight there seems little to choose between the hands, but on closer inspection it emerges, as we would expect, that the first hand wrote fluently while the second, though not unpractised, is stiff as a result of the effort to copy the style of the letters above. The pupil made one mistake, which was the fault of the model, though it is not quite clear what the master did write, see 1–2 n.

On writing exercises in general see H. Harrauer, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Neue Texte aus dem antiken Unterricht* (MPER XV) 9–14, esp. 10–11 on exercises in style or formula by practised writers.

The most interesting thing is that the first line is an address to a consular who was a local landowner. The formula would suit Flavius Apion III at an early stage of his career before he acquired the patriciate, see **3939** 4–5 n., cf. e.g. XVIII **2202** 5, XXVII **2478** 4–5. However, he became a patrician about AD 605, while the exercise dates from not before AD 631/2. There is a rather similar case in MPER XV 95, where two consular dates about thirty years apart occur on a sheet of exercises. The editors contemplated with due reserve the possibility that the same sheet was used again thirty

(m. 1)	]	ἀπὸ ὑπάτων γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λα(μπρᾱ)
(m. 2)	]	ἀπὸ ὑπάτων γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ μς
	]	(vac.)
(m. 1)		εὐ]λαβοῦς μνήμης Σερήνου ἀπὸ ταύτης
(m. 2)		ε]ῦλαβοῦς μνήμης Σερήνου ἀπὸ ταύτης
	]	(vac.)

'To ... consular, landowner here also in the splendid ... of Serenus of discreet memory from this ...'

Φλαουῖν Ἀπίωνι τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυστάτῳ] ἀπὸ ὑπάτων
γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λα(μπρᾷ)
Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει παρὰ πατρὸς τοῦ τῆς εὐ]λαβοῦς μνήμης Σεργίου
ἀπὸ ταύτης
τῆς Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως.

1-2 The invariable formula is γεουχοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει, cf. e.g. 3936 8-9, 3944 5-6, 3945 10-11. The fact that the pupil did not recognize the wording is perhaps some sort of confirmation that the formula was already an antiquated one. He clearly wrote τῇ μς, with mu in the proper shape for the style with the first stroke close to the vertical and descending well below the line. This derives from the master's version above, which though undamaged is far from clear. A lambda is recognizable, but looks as if it has been added, since it cuts through the eta; alpha is sketchy and perhaps short of a loop. It is easy to see why the pupil thought of mu, though it would be a mu foreign to this style with a sloping first stroke. In the third and fourth centuries λαμς was quite usual for λαμ(πρ-), but in these late texts it is usually not abbreviated so drastically; λας is very unusual. The master seems to have bungled the end of the line, probably because he misjudged the space.

3-4 For τῆς εὐλαβοῦς μνήμης cf. **3958** 12-13 n.

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Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in *LSJ* or Suppl. The article is not indexed.

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οἱ θειότατοι καὶ εὐσεβέστατοι ἡμῶν δεσπόται Φλάουιος
 Ἡράκλειος ὁ αἰώνιος Ἀύγουστος καὶ Ἀυτοκράτωρ
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 δεσπότην ἔτους ις **3937** 3-4

AD 600/1 ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν
 δεσπότην ἔτους ιη **3938** 5-6 **3939** 2-3
 AD 608/9 ὑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν
 δεσπότην ἔτους ς **3948** 5-6

III. INDICTIONS AND ERAS

(a) INDICTIONS

6th (587/8) **3933** 3, 12 **3934** 6
 9th (590/1) **3935** 5
 1st (597/8) **3936** 5
 2nd (598/9) **3936** 20-21 (ἐπινέμῃς) **3937** 4
 4th (600/1) **3938** 7 **3939** 3
 7th (603/4) **3940** 6
 8th (604/5) **3941** 8, 28
 9th (605/6) **3942** 6, 28
 10th (606/7) **3942** 30 (ἐπινέμῃς) **3943** 6 **3944**
 3 **3945** 7 **3946** 6 **3947** 6
 12th (608/9) **3948** 6

13th (609/10) **3949** 4 **3950** 2 **3951** 2 [3952 2,
 16]
 14th (610/11) **3951** 2 (ἀρχή) **3952** 16 (ἐπινέμ-
 ῃς) **3953** 2 **3954** 7, 32, 45
 15th (611/12) **3955** 3, 8-9 **3956** 5 **3957** 5
 1st (612/13) **3955** 9 (ἐπινέμῃς)
 2nd (613/14) **3958** [7], 17, 37, (41)
 8th (619/20) **3959** 3
 9th (620/21) **3960** 3, 17, 19, 22, 24, 27, 28, 29
 5th (631/2) **3961** 5

(b) ERAS

267/236 590/1 **3935** 5
 286/255 609/10 **3949** 5 **3952** 2 **3953** 2?
 287/256 610/11 **3954** 45
 288/257 611/12 **3955** 8

290/259 613/14 **3958** 41
 297/266 620/21 **3960** 3
 308/277 630/31 **3961** 5

IV. MONTHS

Ἀθύρ **3921** 29 **3922** 11 **3923** 6 **3937** 4 **3943**
 6 **3944** 3 **3945** 7 **3946** 6 **3947** 6

ἐπαγόμεναι **3924** 23
 Ἐπίφ **3929** 18 **3950** 2

Θώθ **3921** 20, 22, 36 **3922** [1], [3], 6, 17 (**3927** 3,
 8, 14, 16, 18, [35?], 37, 51, 54 **3933** 12 **3953**
 2 **3955** 3

- Μεσορή* **3924** 23 **3934** 5 **3939** 3 **3942** 27 **3951** 2
Μεχέρ **3916** 14 **3920** 6 **3921** 9, 12, 17, 21, 23, 28, 33, 37 **3922** [2], [4], 7, 14, 17 **3926** 28, 41 **3942** 5 **3954** 7 **3957** 6
Παῦνι **3917** 12 **3948** 6 **3949** 4
Παχών **3936** 5 **3958** 7
Σεβαστός **3915** 22, 29, 30
Τῦβι **3921** 31 **3922** 12 **3941** 8 **3959** 3
- Φαμενώθ* [3920 7] **3921** 11, 16, 27, 29, 40, 47 **3922** 10, 18 **3935** 5 **3936** 6
Φαρμούθι **3930** 10, 18, 21 **3933** 3 **3940** 6
Φαῶφι **3921** 23 **3922** 4 (3927 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36, 37, 39, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54) **3956** 5
Χοίακ **3921** 31 (χυακ) **3922** 12 (χυακ)
Χύακ *see* *Χοίακ*

V. DATES

- 7 September 30
 8 September 30
 16 February 60
 25 February–26 March 219
 24 August 223
 9 February 246
 25 June–24 July 250
 1 April 290
 12 April 290
 13 April 588
 14 August 588
 6 March 591
 5 May 598
 13 November 598
 7 March 601
 25 July 601
 6–14 April 604
 27 December 604–25 January 605
 22 February 606
 15 November 606
 16 November 606
 18 November 606
 28 October–26 November 606
 9 June 609
 4 June 610
 25 June 610
 21 August 610
 23 September 610?
 12 February 611
 23 September 611
 1 October 611
 21 February 612 (or 20 February 611?)
 26 April–25 May 614
 12 January 620
- 3915** 21–2, 29
3915 30
3916 13–17
3921 46–7
3924 20–23
3926 23–8, 41
3929 14–18
3930 15–18
3930 10
3933 2–3
3934 1–5
3935 1–5
3936 1–5
3937 1–5
3938 2–7
3939 2–3
3940 3–6
3941 4–8
3942 3–6
3943 3–6
3944 1 3 **3945** 4–7
3946 3–6
3947 3–6
3948 2–6
3949 4–5
3950 2
3951 2
3953 2
3954 3–7
3955 2–3
3956 2–5
3957 4 6
3958 6 7
3959 3

VI. PERSONAL NAMES

- Ἀβραάμ:** Aur. Abraham, s. of Funsis, m. Erebecca **3954** 19, 46
Ἀγαθίνος, f. of Aphynchis **3927** 33
Ἀγαθός Δαίμων: Aur. Berenicianus alias Agathus Daemon, s. of Isidorus, grandson of Achilles m. Nicarus, b. of Aur. Sarapiades alias Poseidonius **[3921 3-4]**
Ἀγαθός Δαίμων: Aur. Sarapion alias Agathus Daemon, ex-gymnasiarch **3925** 2-3
Αἰλοῦρις, alias Demetris **3927** 35
Ἀκύλας: Subatianus Aquila, prefect of Egypt **3920** 4
Ἀλεξάνδρα see Index VIII (a)
Ἀλέξανδρος see Index I s.v. Severus Alexander
Ἀμμωνιανός: Aur. Ammonianus, s. of Apollonius **3921** 50
Ἀμμωνίλλα: Pulfernia Berenice alias Ammonilla, m. of C. Pulfernus Tiberinus, assistant to the council **3924** 5-6
Ἀμμώνιος: Aur. Ammonius, gymnasiarch, prytanis in office **3924** 2
Ἀμμώνιος, f. of Diogenes **3927** 50
Ἀμμώ(νιος), f. of Heracleides **3927** 26
Ἀμμώ(νιος), f. of Sarapiades **3927** 29
Ἀμμώνιος, f. of Serenus **3927** 20
Ἀμμώνιος: Julius Ammonius alias Evangelus, strategus (Thinite, Heracleopolite) **3926** 1 **3928** 2
Ἀμόϊς, alias Chresimus **3927** 11
Ἀμοῖς: Aur. Amois, m. Taamois, b. of Taharpaesius **3929** 3, 19, 22 (*Ἀμοῖτᾶ* gen.)
Ἀμόϊς, f. of Hieracapollon **3927** 3
Ἀμόϊς, s. of Antonius **3927** 32
Ἀμόϊς, s. of Apollodidymus **3927** 38
Ἀμοιτᾶς see *Ἀυρήλιος:* Aur. Amois, m. Taamois
Ἀμύντας, s. of Serenus **3927** 22
Ἀμυντιανός, f. of Paapis **3927** 17
Ἀναστάσιος, contract writer **3933** 40 (*Anast(asiu)*)
Ἀναστάσιος, s. of the late George **3934** 7
Ἀνήλιος, *singularis* **3932** 3, 14
Ἀνθέστιος, alias Valerius(?) **3927** 36
Ἀνθέστιος, f. of Dius **3927** 46
Ἀνίκητος, f. of Eudaemon **3927** 53
Ἄννα, m. of Aur. Pamuthius, *κουφοκεραμεύς*, w. of Apollos **3942** 13
Ἄνουπ: Aur. Anup, s. of Menas (alias? s. of?) Camul **3959** 9-10, 22
Ἄνουπ: Aur. Anup, s. of Pamuthius, m. Herais **3949** 12, 17
Ἄνουπ, f. of Aur. Menas, h. of Martyria **3954** 18
Ἄνουπ, f. of Aur. Pamuthius(?) or Papnuthius(?) **3953** 8
Ἄντεις, s. of Titan **3915** [1], 23
Ἄντωννίος see Index I s.vv. Commodus, Severus and Caracalla, Elagabalus
Ἀντώνιος: C. Julius Antonius **3924** 18-19, 27
Ἀντώνιος, f. of Amois **3927** 32
Ἀπα[**3947** 11
ἄπα Cίων: Aur. Apa Sion, stableman, s. of Petronius, m. Helen, h. of Aurelia Thecla, d. of Constantine, m. Eustathia **3938** 12-15, 24
Ἀπίων: Flavius Apion *ὁ πανεύφημος καὶ ὑπερφνέστατος ἀπὸ ὑπάτων* **3939** 4-5: + καὶ πατρίκιος **3941** 9-11 **[3943 7-8]** **3944** 4-5 **3945** 8 **3946** 7-9 **3947** 7-8 **3950** 3 **[3951 3]** **[3952 3]** **3953** 3 **3954** 11 (*ὁ πανεύφημος πατρίκιος Ἀ.*) **3956** 6-7 **3957** 7 (*Ἀ. ὁ πανεύφημος πατρίκιος*) **3958** 8-9 **3959** 4-5 (*Ἀ. ὁ μακαρίτης γενόμενος πατρίκιος*) **3960** 1 (*Ἀ. ὁ ἐν εὐκλεεῖ τῇ μνήμῃ*)
Ἀπίων(ν): M. Ulpius Apion **3927** 9
Ἀπολλοδίδυμος, f. of Amois **3927** 38
Ἀπολλω (unfinished?) **3927** 34
Ἀπολλώνιος: Aur. Apollonius, former hypomnematographus, strategus **3930** 1
Ἀπολλώνιος, f. of Aur. Ammonianus **3921** 50
Ἀπολλώ(νιος), f. of Besarion **3927** 39
Ἀπολλώνιος, guardian of Heracleidiaena, a minor **3923** 1
Ἀπολλώνιος: M. Aurelius Apollonius, hierophant **3920** 16
Ἀπολλώνιος, strategus (Heracleopolite) **3917** 1, 11
Ἀπολλῶς, deceased, f. of Aur. Serenus, *ἐργάτης τῶν χρυσοχόων* **3933** 7, [35], 42
Ἀπολλῶς: Flavius Apollos, *ὁ μεγαλοπρεπέστατος κόμης*, administrator of Flavius Strategus **3936** 9-10
Ἀπολλῶς, f. of Aur. Pamuthius, *κουφοκεραμεύς*, h. of Anna **3942** 13, 32, 37
Ἀπολλῶς, secretary of the household of Justus s. of Eudaemon, grandfather of Theodorus **3938** 9
Ἀρητίων, f. of Besarion **3927** 40
Ἀρθώθης, Hermias alias **3927** 30
Ἀρποκράς **3936** 25
Ἀρποκρατίων, s. of Serenus? **3927** 37 n.
Ἄσαρ, [**3937** 6?, see n.
Ἀσκληπιάδης: Aur. Asclepiades, former hypomnematographus, prytanis in office **3930** 5-6
Ἀσκληπιάδης see *Κλαύδιος*
Ἀταρία, m. of Aur. Sepththomois, w. of Damas **3928** 5
Ἀγουστος **3934** 3 **3935** 3 **3938** 4 **3940** 5 **3941** 6 **3942** 5 **3943** 5 **3944** 2 **3945** 6 **3946** 5 (*Ἀγούστου*) **3947** 5 **3948** 4 **3954** 5 **[3955 3]** **3956** 4 **3957** 5 **3958** 7 **3961** 3

- Αὔγουστος* *see also* Index I s.vv. Maurice, Phocas, Heraclius
- Αὐρηλία*: Aurelia Nicarus, m. of Aur. Berenicianus alias Agathus Daemon and Aur. Sarapiades alias Poseidonius, w. of Aur. Hierax **3921** 6, 49
- Αὐρηλία*: Aurelia Senpatus, d. of Panuris, granddaughter of Titoes, w. of Titoes s. of Cortas, m. of Pseces **3926** 1-2, 29-30, 35
- Αὐρηλία*: Aurelia Thecla, w. of Aur. Apa Sion, d. of Constantine, m. Eustathia, m. of Justina by Damianus **3938** 12-15
- Αὐρήλιος* [**3955** 6?]
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Abraham, s. of Funsis, m. Erebecca **3954** 19, 46
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Ammonianus, s. of Apollonius **3921** 50
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Ammonius, gymnasiarch, prytanis in office **3924** 2
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Amois, m. Taamois, b. of Tahar-paesis **3929** 3, 19, 22 (*Ἀμοῖτᾶ* gen.)
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Anup, s. of Menas (alias? s. of?) Camul **3959** 9-10, 22
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Anup, s. of Pamuthius, m. Herais **3949** 11-13, 17
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Apa Sion, stableman, s. of Petronius, m. Helen, h. of Aurelia Thecla, d. of Constantine, m. Eustathia **3938** 12-15, 24
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Apollonius, former hypomnemato-graphus, strategus **3930** 1
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Asclepiades, former hypomnemato-graphus, prytanis in office **3930** 5-6
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Berenicianus alias Agathus Daemon, s. of Isidorus, grandson of Achilles, m. Nicarus, b. of Aur. Sarapiades alias Poseidonius [**3921** 3-4]
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Dius alias Pertinax, strategus **3925** 1
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Hierax, s. of Sarapion, m. Taysorëus **3921** 1-2, 45, 48
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Horigenes, s. of Stephanus, m. Erebecca **3954** 21, 47
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. John, s. of Horigenes, m. Maria **3954** 16, 46
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Macaris, *μείζων*, s. of Jeremiah, m. Maria **3954** 14-16, 45
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Menas, s. of Anup, m. Martyria **3954** 18, 46
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Pamuthius, *κουφοκεραμεύς*, s. of Apollos, m. Anna **3942** 11-13, 32, 37
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Pamuthius(?), s. of Anup **3953** 7-8
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Pamuthius, s. of Menas **3959** 15
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Papnuthius(?), s. of Anup **3953** 7-8
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Peter, s. of Joseph, m. Irene **3950** 7
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Sarapiades alias Poseidonius, s. of Isidorus, grandson of Achilles, m. Nicarus, b. of Aur. Berenicianus alias Agathus Daemon **3921** 5
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Sarapion alias Agathus Daemon, ex-gymnasiarch **3925** 2-3
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Septhomois s. of Damas, m. Ataria **3928** 4
- Αὐρ(ή)λιος*: Aur. Serenus, *ἐργάτης τῶν χρυσοχόων*, s. of the late Apollos **3933** 6, 33-4, 41-2
- Αὐρήλ(ιος)*: Aur. Soter s. of Soter **3926** 31-2
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aurelius Verianus, ex-prefect of Egypt **3918** 8
- Αὐρήλιος*: Aur. Victor, *προακτίτης* **3941** 19, 21
- Αὐρήλιος*: M. Aurelius Apollonius, hierophant **3920** 16
- Αὐρήλιος* ... *ῶν* **3929** 20-21
- Αὐρήλιος* *see also* Index I s.vv. Commodus, Elagabalus, Severus Alexander
- Ἀχιλλᾶς*, f. of Isidorus, grandfather of Aur. Berenicianus alias Agathus Daemon and Aur. Sarapiades alias Poseidonius **3921** 3
- Ἀχιλλεύς*, f. of Copres **3927** 27
- Ἀφύγχις*, s. of Agathinus **3927** 33
- Βερενίκη*: Pulfernia Berenice alias Ammonilla, m. of C. Pulfernius Tiberinus, assistant to the council **3924** 5-6
- Βερενικιανός*: Aur. Berenicianus alias Agathus Daemon, s. of Isidorus, grandson of Achilles, m. Nicarus, b. of Aur. Sarapiades alias Poseidonius [**3921** 3-4]
- Βησαρίων(ν)*, f. of Demeas **3927** 44
- Βησαρίων*, s. of Apollo(nius) **3927** 39
- Βησαρίων*, s. of Aretion **3927** 40
- Βίκτωρ* [**3946** 13?]
- Βίκτωρ*: Aur. Victor, *προακτίτης* **3941** 19, 21
- Βίκτωρ*, deceased, deacon and gospeller, f. of Joseph, psalmist, rent-collector **3958** 13, 35, 43
- Βίκτωρ*, deceased *nomicarius*, f. of Sergius **3942** 9
- Βίκτωρ*: Flavius Victor ὁ ἐνδοξότατος ἰλλούστριος καὶ ἀντιγεοῦχος [**3957** 8]
- Βώλας*, (Julius) Bola *libertus diui Augusti*, patron of Julius Florus **3915** 2
- Γάιος*: C. Julius Antonius **3924** 18-19, 27
- Γάιος*: C. Pulfernius Tiberinus, m. Pulfernia Berenice alias Ammonilla, assistant to the council **3924** 4-6, 24
- Γάιος*, s. of Euporianus **3927** 24
- Γάιος* *see also* Index I s.v. Decius
- Γελάσιος*, alias Serenus **3927** 41
- Γερμανικός* *see* Index I s.vv. Nero
- Γεώργιος*, deceased, f. of Anastasius **3934** 8
- Γεώργιος*, deceased, f. of Enoch **3949** 10
- Γεώργιος*: Flavius George, *διοικητής* **3954** 8
- Γεώργιος*, f. of Aur. Menas, h. of Sophia **3954** 20

- Γεώργιος, priest, οἰκονόμος of the church of St. Alexandra **3936** 11, 31, 36
- Δαμᾶς, f. of Aur. Septhomois, h. of Ataria **3928** 4
- Δαμιανός, f. of Justina by Aurelia Thecla **3938** 18
- Δέκιος *see* Index I s.v. Decius
- Δημέας, s. of Besarion **3927** 44
- Δημέας, s. of Dioscuria ...? **3927** 44
- Δημήτριος: Tineius Demetrius, prefect of Egypt **3918** 5-6
- Δημήτρις, Aeluris alias **3927** 35
- Δημήτρις, Epimachus alias **3927** 2
- Δίδυμος, s. of Sempronius(?) **3927** 49
- Δίδυμος, s. of Theon(?) **3927** 47
- Διογένης, f. of Plutarchus **3927** 16
- Διογένης, s. of Ammonius **3927** 50
- Διογένης, s. of Posarapis **3927** 25
- Διοκλητιανός *see* Index I s.v. Diocletian and Maximian
- Διονυσάμ(μων), f. of Dionysius **3927** 1
- Διονύσιος, f. of Hierax **3927** 15
- Διονύσιος, f. of Theon **3916** 3
- Διονύσιος, s. of Dionysammon **3927** 1
- Διονύσιος, s. of Dioscorus **3927** 51
- Διονύσιος, s. of Theon(?) **3927** 48
- Δίος: Aur. Dius alias Pertinax, strategus **3925** 1
- Δίος, s. of Anthestius **3927** 46
- Διοσκοράμμων, s. of Valerius? **3927** 45
- Διόσκορος, f. of Dionysius **3927** 51
- Διοσκουρία[.], f. or m. of Demeas **3927** 43
- Διοσκουρίδης, alias Sap ... **3927** 42
- Εἰρήνη, m. of Aur. Peter, w. of Joseph **3950** 7
- Εἰρήνη *see* Index VII(b) s.v. ἐποίκιον Εἰρήνης
- Ἑλένη, m. of Aur. Apa Sion, w. of Petronius **3938** 13
- Ἐνώχ, *riparius*, *curator*, and assistant of the bath, s. of the late George **3949** 6-8
- Ἐπίμαχος, alias Demetrius **3927** 2
- Ἐπίχαρις (gen. -ρίου), slavewoman **3916** 6-7, 11, 23-4, 27
- Ἐρεβέκκα, m. of Aur. Abraham, w. of Funsis **3954** 20
- Ἐρεβέκκα, m. of Aur. Horigenes, w. of Stephanus **3954** 22
- Ἑρμίας, alias Harthothēs **3927** 30
- Ἑρμίας, alias Philodioscorus **3927** 12
- Ἑρως *see* Ἰούλιος
- Εὐάγγελος: Julius Ammonius alias Evangelus, strategus (Thinite, Heracleopolite) **3926** 1 **3928** 2
- Εὐδαίμων: ... Eudaemon, prytanis in office **3925** 4-5
- Εὐδαίμων, f. of Justus deceased **3938** 11
- Εὐδαίμων(ν), s. of Anicetus **3927** 53
- Εὐδαίμων(ν), s. of Ophelius **3927** 52
- Εὐποριανός, f. of Gaius **3927** 24
- Εὐσεβής: Sarapion alias Eusebes, of the Matidian tribe and Thesmophorian deme, s. of Sarapion **3918** 1-4
- Εὐσταθία, m. of Aurelia Thecla, w. of Constantine [**3938** 15]
- Ζωῖλος, f. of Sarapion banker **3915** 14, 31
- Ἥλιας, contract writer **3936** 35 (*Helia* gen.)
- Ἥλιας, deceased, f. of Theodorus *cursor* of the *praeses* *Arcadiae* **3934** 12
- Ἡραῖς, m. of Aur. Anup, w. of Pamuthius **3949** 13
- Ἡρακλείδης, s. of Ammonius **3927** 26
- Ἡρακλείδης, s. of Sarapion, exegetes **3930** 3
- Ἡρακλείδης, s. of Theon **3927** 54
- Ἡρακλειδίαινα, a minor **3923** 1-2
- Ἡράκλειος *see* Index I s.vv. Heraclius, Heraclius and Heraclius Junior
- Ἡρων, s. of Serenus **3927** 13
- Θέκλα: Aurelia Thecla, w. of Aur. Apa Sion, d. of Constantine, m. Eustathia, m. of Justina by Damianus **3938** 12-15, 18
- Θεόδωρος, *cursor* of the *praeses* *Arcadiae*, s. of the late Elias **3934** 9, 15
- Θεόδωρος, goldsmith, s. of the late Serenus **3833** 4-5
- Θεόδωρος, grandson (ἐγγόνω: 1. ἐκγ-) of Apollos secretary of the household of Justus s. of Eudaemon **3938** 8-11
- Θεόδωρος *see* Index VIII(a) s.v. ἄγιος Θ
- Θέων **3932** 13
- Θέων(ν)?, f. of Didymus **3927** 47
- Θέων(ν)?, f. of Dionysius **3927** 48
- Θέων(ν), f. of Heracleides **3927** 54
- Θέων, f. of Philonides **3915** 28
- Θέων(ν), f. of Sarapammon **3927** 19
- Θέων, f. of Sarapion **3927** 18
- Θέων, s. of Dionysius **3916** 3
- Θῶνις, f. of Nemesion **3927** 4
- Ἰερακαπόλλω(ν), s. of Amois **3927** 3
- Ἰέραξ: Aur. Hierax, s. of Sarapion, m. Taysorēus **3921** 1-2, 45, 48
- Ἰέραξ, s. of Dionysius **3927** 15
- Ἰέραξ, s. of Melas **3927** 14
- Ἰερεμίας, f. of Aur. Macaris, μείζων, h. of Maria **3954** 15
- Ἰερημίας [**3944** 9]
- Ἰησοῦς *see* Index VIII(a), (b)
- Ἰούλιος: C. Julius Antonius **3924** 18-19, 27
- Ἰούλιος: Julius Ammonius alias Evangelus, strategus (Thinite, Heracleopolite) **3926** 1 **3928** 2
- Ἰούλιος: Julius Eros **3917** 9

- Ἰούλιος**: Julius Florus freedman of (Julius) Bola, *libertus diui Augusti* **3915** 2, 19, 26
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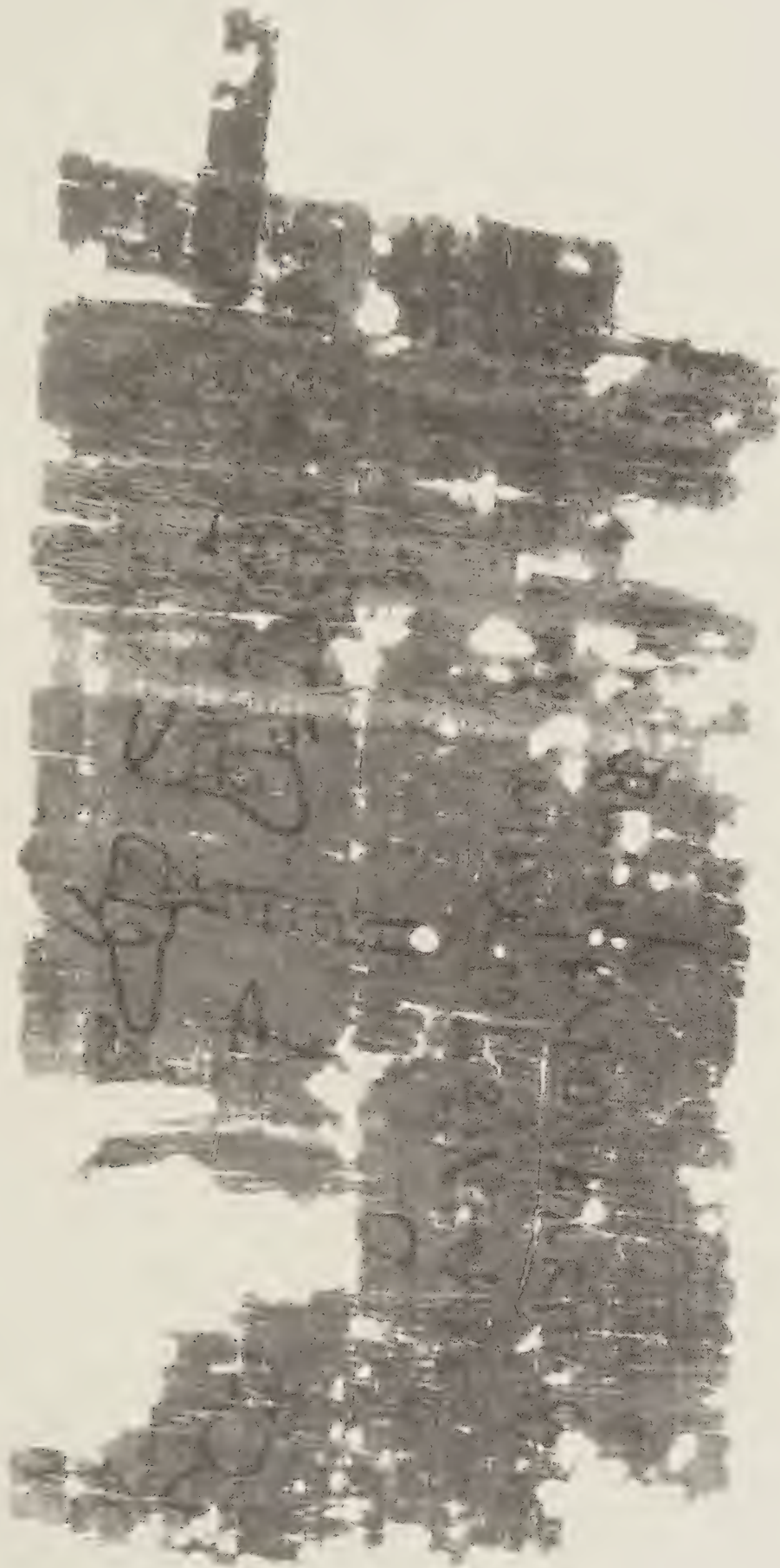
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3931 (back)

The manuscript is written in a cursive script, likely from the 15th or 16th century. The text is arranged in approximately 25 lines. The ink is dark, and the parchment shows signs of age and wear. The script is highly stylized, with many ligatures and flourishes. The text is written in a single column, with some lines starting with a large initial letter. The overall appearance is that of a historical document or a collection of letters.



Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely from a manuscript. The text is written on a piece of parchment or paper that shows signs of wear and discoloration. The script is dense and flowing, with some words appearing to be in a different language or dialect than others.

3933 (foot)

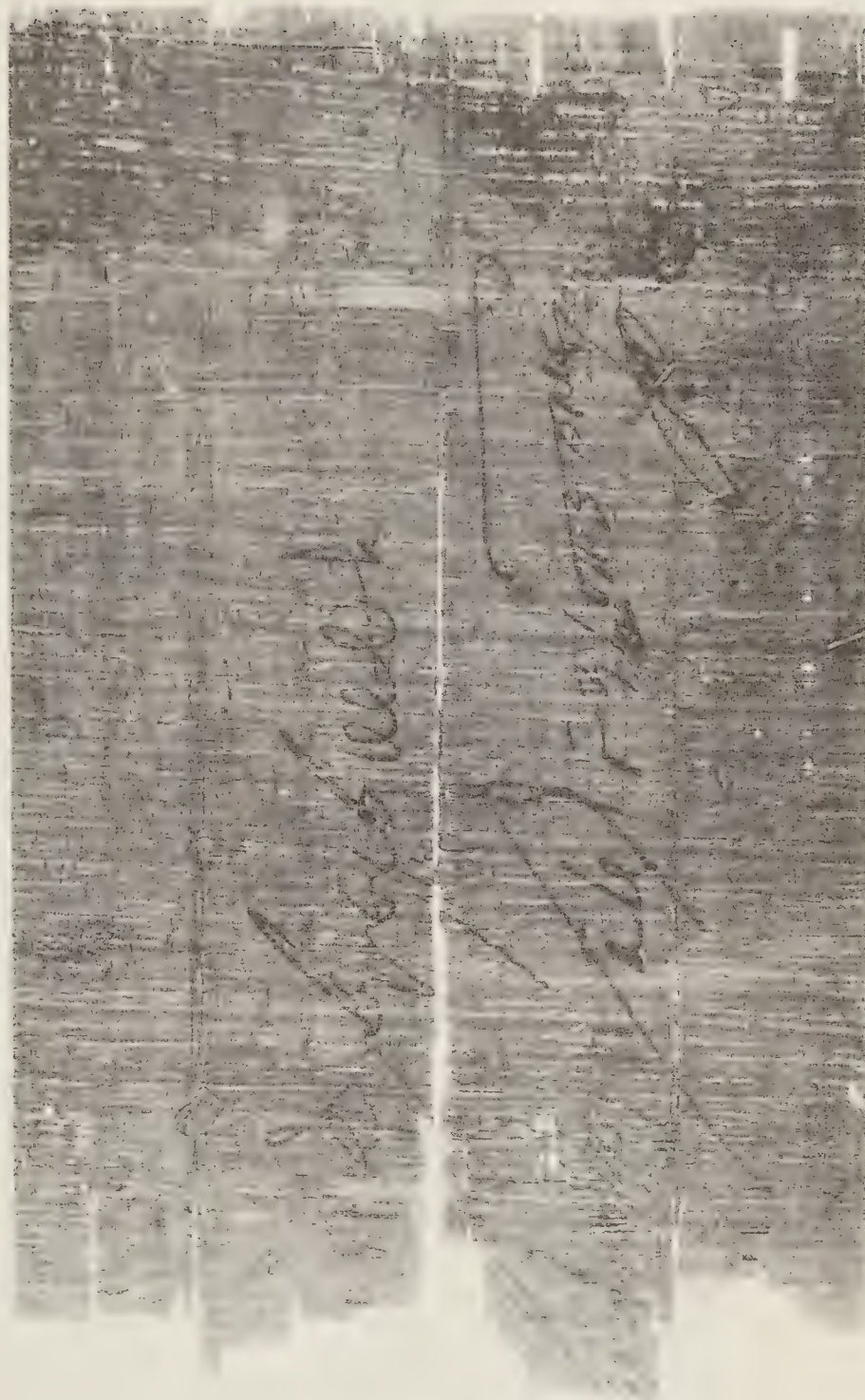
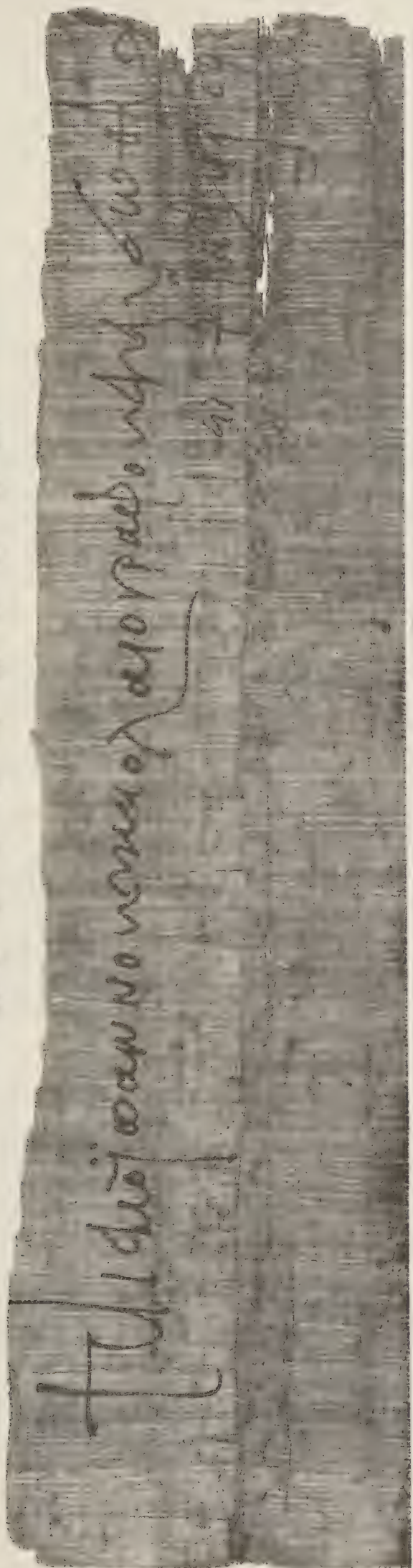
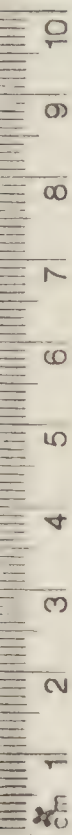
Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely from a manuscript. The text is written on a piece of parchment or paper that shows signs of wear and discoloration. The script is dense and flowing, with some words appearing to be in a different language or dialect than others.

3936 (foot)

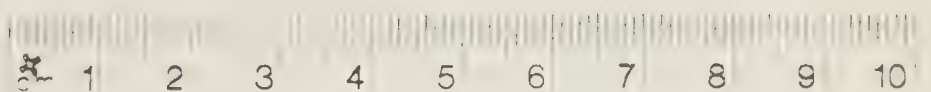
Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely from a manuscript. The text is written on a piece of parchment or paper that shows signs of wear and discoloration. The script is dense and flowing, with some words appearing to be in a different language or dialect than others.

3942 (foot)

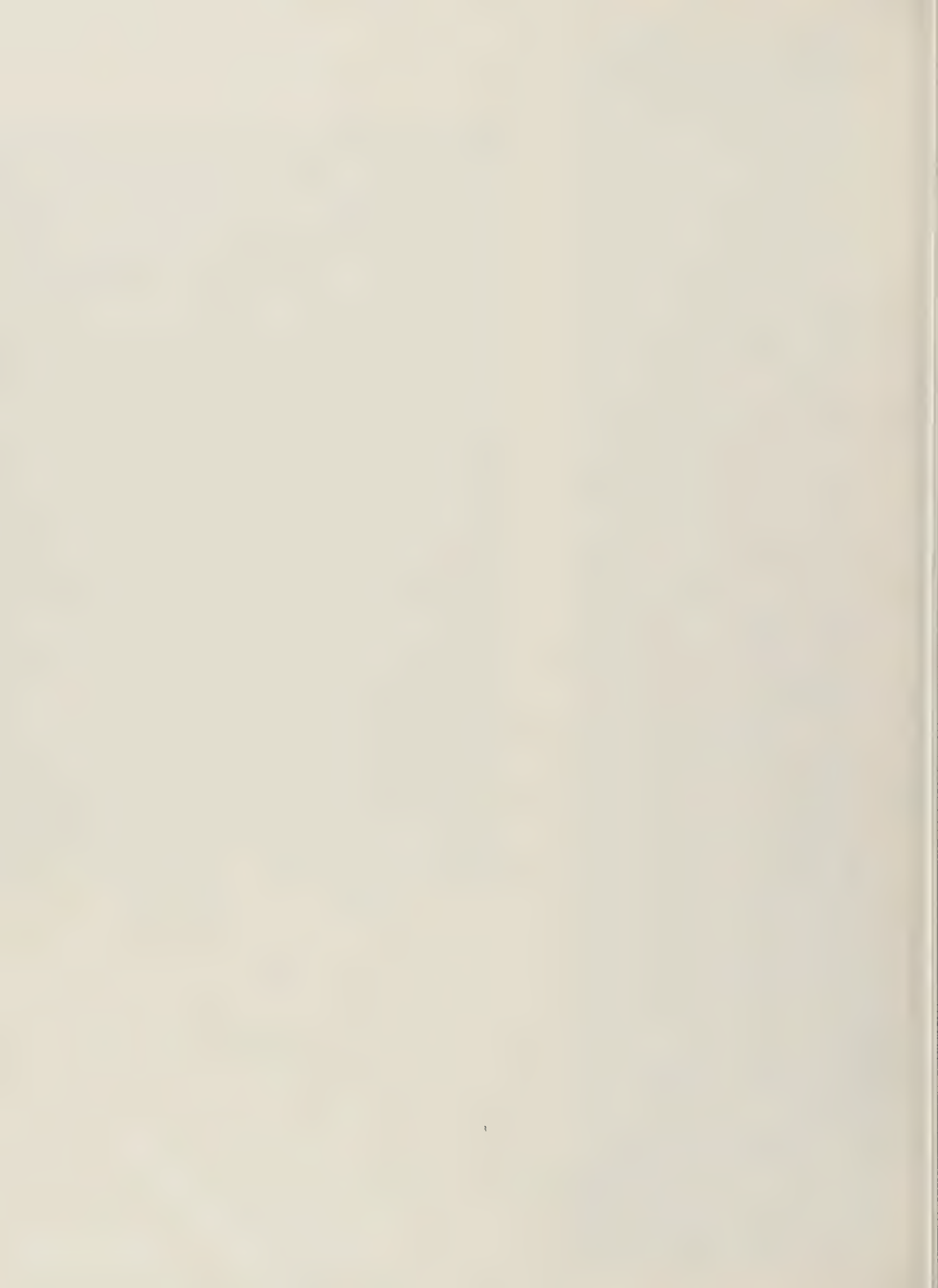




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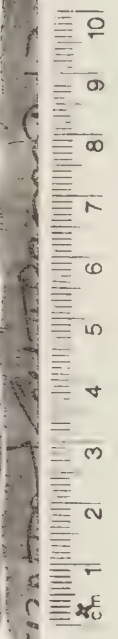
3958 40-41 (reduced)



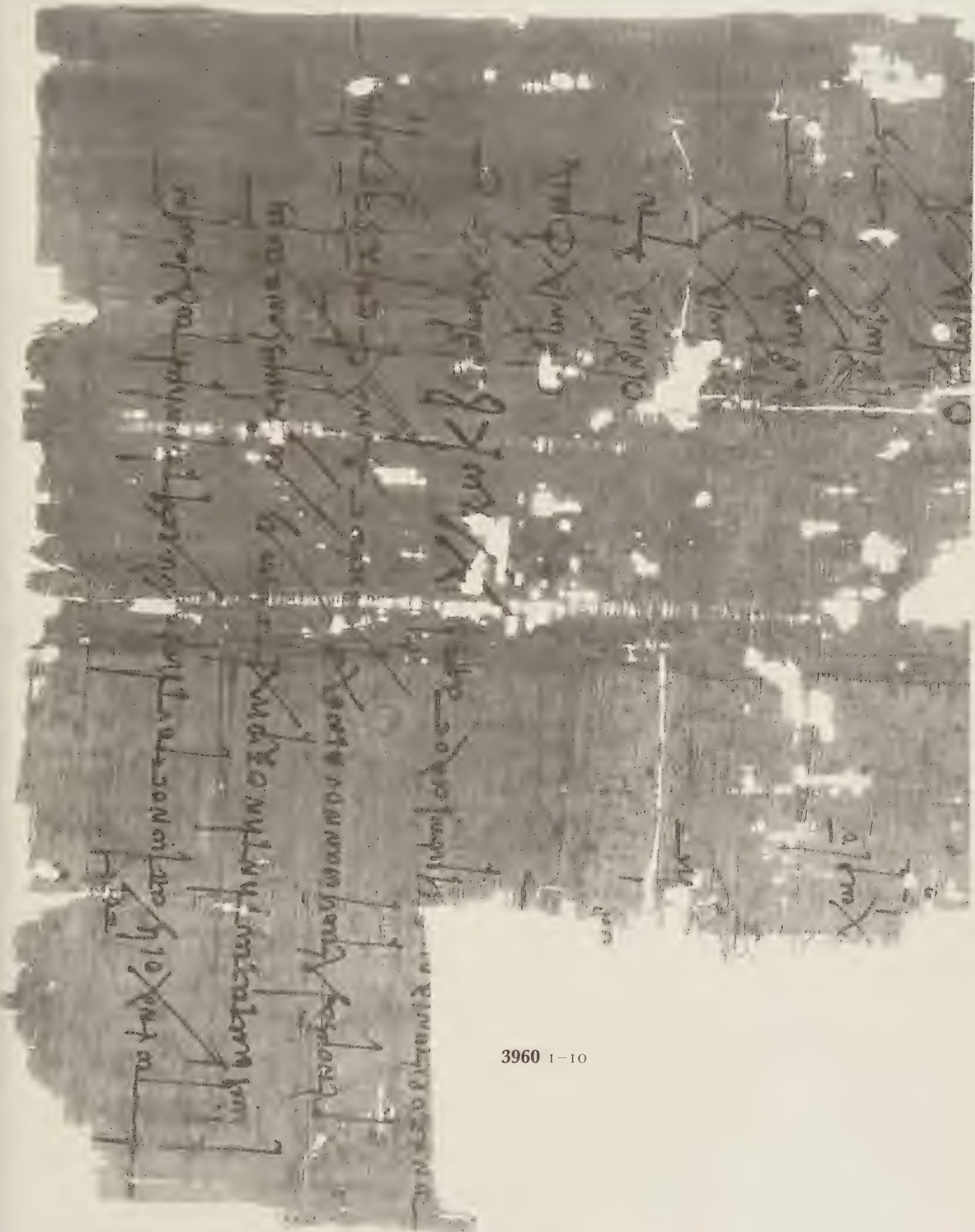


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